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एकः सूते सकलम्

VIJAYANAGAR

As seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz
(16 Century Portuguese Chroniclers and others)

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by
VASUNDHARA FILLIOZAT

◆ India–The Land and the People ◆

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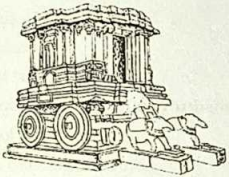

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NATIONAL BOOK TRUST, INDIA

Cover photograph : Stone chariot Vithala temple

ISBN 978-81-237-2658-8

First Edition 1977
First Reprint 1980
First Revised Edition 1999
Reprints 2001, 2015, 2024 (twice) *(Saka* 1945)
© Vasundhara Filliozat, 1977 & 1997
₹ 340.00

Published by the Director, National Book Trust, India
Nehru Bhawan, 5 Institutional Area, Phase-II
Vasant Kunj, New Delhi-110 070

www.nbtindia.gov.in

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface vii
Historical Introduction 1
Chronicles of Paes and Nuniz: Letter 57
Narrative of Domingos Paes 59
Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz 121
Appendix A
The travels of Nicolo Conti 249
Abdur-Razzak 253
Travels of Nikitin 284
The itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema 285
Account of Tome Pires 292
The book of Duarte Barbosa 300
Caesaro Federici 318
An anonymous letter 329
Appendix B
The state of Hampi ruins 331
Of the site and remains of the city of Beejanuggur 348
Bibliography 354
Index 357

PREFACE

I am glad to edit these chronicles of Paes and Nuniz for National Book Trust, India, for the second time.

These two accounts of Paes and Nuniz were discovered and brought to light, for the first time, by Senhor David Lopes in *Dos Reis de Bisnaga*, in Lisbon in the year 1897. Later, in 1900 Sewell published an English translation of these chronicles for which he has consulted the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris along with Senhor David Lopes' work. In the introduction of his work *A Forgotten Empire* Sewell writes: "The two Portuguese chronicles, a translation of which is now for the first time offered to the public, are contained in a vellum-bound folio volume in the Biblithèque Nationale in Paris, amongst the manuscripts of which institution it bears the designation *'Port. No. 65'*.....The first pair of original papers was sent with a covering letter by someone at Goa to someone in Europe. The names are not given, but there is every reason for believing that the recipient was the historian Barros in Lisbon". Further, Sewell strengthens his views by saying that his friend Fergusson has pointed out to him, I quote, "that in the third *Decada* (liv. vi. cap.ii), after quoting some passages almost verbatim from this chronicle of Nuniz regarding Vijayanagar, Barros writes "According to two letters which our people had two or three years afterwards from these two men....This renders it certain that Barros saw these letters" (*A Forgotten Empire*, 1962, introduction pp. iii-v). Probably, these chronicles were sent to Lisbon somewhere in the latter half of the sixteenth century. One

may ask then, how did this volume come to Paris and how Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has it?

A word is necessary about the journey of this manuscript to Paris and to Bibliothèque Nationale. We all know that these chronicles were not published till 1897 by Senhor Lopes about whom Sewell speaks with high regard. And we also know that this is the only manuscript and no copies of it were made available in any other library in the world. It appeared in the catalogue of library of the Abbaye of St. Germain des Prés in Paris as early as in the year MDCCXXIX (1739). This catalogue was prepared by Coislin, bishop of Metz who was the grandson of Chancellor Séguier, a renowned bibliophile in himself. He owned a magnificent library and his agents were getting books and manuscripts for him from different parts of Europe. Probably, this manuscript was a part of a lot which he acquired in Portugal. In the last century a terrible fire in the library of the Abbaye destroyed all printed books. The survining manuscripts were then transferred to Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. First these chronicles were catalogued in the collection of French manuscripts and at a later date were transferred to Portuguese manuscript section. David Lopes discovered the text in 1895-96 and read a paper on it in The Congress of Orientalistes in 1896. The two chronicles were published in 1897 in a book form. In the subsequent years Sewell undertook the task of bringing them out in English.

It is a paper manuscript which contains 135 folios where No. 88, 102 & 103 are blank. Each folio measures 24 x 14 cms. with approximately 3 cms. margin on all four sides. Writing is very regular and beautiful. But at times it is difficult to decipher due to the fancy ornamentation of curves, etc by the copyist. The first page contains the title *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga* with much decoration of letters. The first letter of the first chronicle i.e. Nuniz's account is in

lettrine (ornamented or calligraphed).

If Paes has given a vivid description of the capital and the festivals, Nuniz who lived in the capital for about three years had more time to see and hear many stories about the city. Possibly he has written what he was told, but, some facts mentioned by him are either contradicted or are absent in Paes's account. For example Paes neither mentions the name of the queen for whose love the city was built nor writes about the Italian architect-engineer Jaõa della Ponte. Though Paes was in Vijayanagar at the time of the siege of Raicūr fort, he does not mention Christovao de Figueiredo's participation in it. Is it because Nuniz, being a trader, relates what all he saw or heard or are these the contributions of a copyist? Judging from some interpolations it appears that this anonymous copyist of the historian was aware of many historical facts about the city. It is possible that he might have had added some facts for the glorification of his country and people. Christovão de Figueiredo was in the capital with his horses and his companions. In Nuniz's text we read that they were musketeers (arquebusiers) but there is nothing as such in Paes's account. If this were true then the latter should have narrated it more proudly because he was a part of Figueiredo's party. There are many such disparities between the two texts. I have pointed them out whenever it has come to my notice. Besides, I warn the readers to be cautious about the facts recounted in these texts.

"The city of Vijayanagar as the entrepot, administrative center and royal residence occupies the center of the stage in all accounts of the empire" (Donald F. Lach, *India in the Eyes of Europe*, p. 374). The author is right in saying so. Almost all those who have visited the capital then have written more about the capital than the empire. The study of Vijayanagar will not be complete if other chronicles on

the subject are not examined. And, the problem is that one cannot obtain them all at one place. So, I thought it is better to put them together and bring out in one volume and the NBT promptly accepted my idea and this book is the outcome. I hope readers will be benefitted to find accounts of Nicolo dei Conti, Ludovico Varthema and Caesaro Frederick[1] or Caesaro Frederick from Italy; apart from Paes and Nuniz other Portuguese visitors like Tomé Pires, Duarte Barbosa and a letter from an anonymous writer. Nikitin was from Russia and Abdur- Razzak came from Persia.

From the reading of their accounts it appears that except Razzak, Paes, Nuniz and Ceasar Frederick others either did not visit or paid a lightning visit to the capital. Abdur-Razzak's *récit* is very precious apart from Paes and Nuniz's accounts because it gives a picture of the capital in the fifteenth century. Ceasar Frederike's account is worth reading because he gives a picture of the capital after the battle of Tālikōtā in A.D. 1565. He visited the capital towards the end of A.D. 1566 and stayed there for six months. He says that the capital was not yet fully destroyed and abandoned. In this regard, Heras in the introduction to his article and also in his book *Third Dynasty* has emphasised much on this point. But, still Sewell's wrong remark that the capital was destroyed by Muslims has gone so deep in the minds of the readers that it is difficult to uproot it even to-day. Caesar Frederike was in the capital when the last surviving kings were trying to revive the life in the capital city. The anonymous author of the letter writes how the final destruction of the capital was brought by the ruling families themselves. It is clear from these two evidences

[1] His name is spelt differently in different European languages. Ceseré Fedrici in Italian, Caesaro Frederick in Dutch and Ceasar Frederick in English.

that there was some life in the capital even after its devastation by the enemies. The royal Hindu families and their supporters were responsible for dealing the final death blow to the capital.

While editing these chronicles we had to face many difficulties. First of all to establish a good reading and the correct translation for Paes and Nuniz's accounts which constitute the main core of this edition. The volume of these two chronicles which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is itself a copy. Whether these are the originals which were at the disposal of the copyist in Goa and how far he is loyal to the originals are matters to be questioned. Sewell, though he says that he went through the copy of the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, has made use of Lopes's edition abundantly. His translation is not free from errors: at times he is either too far away from the original or quite wrong.

In the early seventies, while I was preparing the first edition of these chronicles for NBT, seeing the drawbacks in Sewell's version, Prof. Jean Filliozat requested Prof. Maurice Rouch to work on this text from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It so happened that the latter was then in Delhi as a Professor of French and Portuguese languages. Prof. Rouch has prepared an excellent translation in French from the original manuscript and after consulting many books meeting different specialists both of Portugal and France to elucidate him whenever he came across a problem. All along, while editing these chronicles, I have pointed out anomalies in Sewell's text and Prof. Rouch's version.

Some problems with words like Larcha or Darcha could not be solved. Besides its identification with any modern town of that name is also difficult because we are working with scanty sources at our disposal. Most of these

ancient places either have been disfigured or disappeared. Many temples of the past have fallen into disuse. Darcha or Larcha may be Lakamāpura or Harihara. The distance between place to place is, often, counted in leagues and each league corresponds approximately to three to four miles. Sometimes it was equal to nearly two miles (1.197 miles).[1] The distance between Darcha or Larcha and Vijayanagar is eighteen leagues says Paes. It is a place near Hampi at a distance of thirty to fifty miles approximately. From western side to reach Hampi one has to follow the course of Tuṅgabhadrā river and along the river numerous temples to Śiva were built prior to the establishment of the Karnāṭaka kings who ruled from Vijayanagar. Each temple had a shrine to Ganēśa. So, in this case it becomes difficult to identify Larcha with any existing place. Many modern historians think that Darcha is modern Harihar on the bank of Tuṅgabhadrā. Probably they are right.

With regard to other narrations: Abdur-Razzak's is one of the best and he gives a vivid description of the capital. Four translations, two in English and two in French, were at my disposal for this edition. What is the source for Dowson and Elliot's translation I do not know. R. Major has made use of Quatremère's translation. The latter was a French savant who was a reputed scholar of Persian. He has translated Razzak's text into beautiful French. Langles, another French scholar of the last century also has given his own translation, but to me it appeared not as accurate as Quatremère's. All along, I have pointed out the

1. "The scale on the left-hand side is divided into 24 divisions, probably of 12 leagues each (Duarte Leite, *O mais antigo mapa do Bresil*, p. 234), a league therefore being equal to 3.471 miles or 6428 metres" Armando Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, vol. II, Appendix, II, p. 519.

differences between Major's and Dowson & Elliot's versions.

Tome Pires, who was the apothecary of the king of Portugal, has also written a few pages on Vijayanagar city. He arrived in India probably on 8 September A.D. 1511 or a day or two later and in November A.D. 1512 he was in Malacca. So on his way he might have been in Vijayanagar but it is doubtful judging from the erroneous remarks made by him. When he was in the capital it was Kṛṣṇarāya the Great who was on the throne and in A.D. 1512 the king was preparing for his Orissa campaigns. Hostilities with the Deccan had not yet begun. Another remark of his is that there were only twenty thousand inhabitants in the capital, which is far from the reality. All such statements make me to think that either he did not visit the capital or may be it was too short. Nevertheless, other extracts from his letter on a few drugs and where they grow[1] are worth reading.

Most of these chroniclers were wonder-struck by two facts: one, the wealth of Karnāṭaka empire and second, the sati practice in some families. Besides, amongst the gods Hanumān and Ganesa have attracted them the most. Often, readers come across these topics while going through travel accounts. In fact, the narration of sati practice by Westerners goes back to antiquity i.e. to the times of Greek and Roman classical authors who had some knowledge of India[2].

In Appendix B, a brief description of Hampi-Vijayanagar has been added to situate the readers in Hampi. Instead of giving a modern picture of the site,

1. *Suma Oriental*, vol. II, App. 1, p. 512-518.
2. Jean Filliozat and Andre: *L'Inde vue de Rome*, Textes latins de l' Antiquité relatifs à l'Inde. In French on p. 24 and on p. 25. in Latin. Notes and commentary on p. 339-340 by Jean Filliozat. Cicero who lived in the first century B.C. was the first to speak about this practice of women's voluntary death. In subsequent centuries it became "sati" or "suttee" to European travellers who wrote on India.

though there are many errors in his descriptions and directions, I have chosen the account of Hampi by Eastwick from his guide to *Madras Presidency* published in 1878, so that the readers will get an idea of "Hampi ruins" in its early days because to-day the appearance of "Hampi ruins" has changed considerably ever since the conservation work has been undertaken by the central and state archaeology. It is no more the same Hampi which I saw in 1963 when I went there for the first time with my professors Dr. G.S. Dikshit and late Prof. P.B. Desai who inspired me to study epigraphy.

I have also added another extract from James Rennel's *Memoir*. From this text it looks that Hampi ruins were discovered in the middle of the eighteenth century and the first geographers were encountering problems in identifying "Allputna" or "Haḷepaṭṭaṇa" with Hampi-Vijayanagar and the empire. On page 291 of the same book the author writes 'Our histories of Deccan and Carnatic are very imperfect; and at this day we can hardly distinguish between the kingdoms of Bisnagur and Narasinga; and whether they were two successive, or two co-existing kingdoms". This shows that it was not easy to elucidate the problem for them due to meagre documentation at their disposal. However, Rennell calls the empire "kingdom of Canhara". This term Canhara is identical with Kannaḍa, Karnāṭaka.

When we think of the chronicles of Vijayanagar we think of only those which come from the west. There are others which are from the East such as Chinese accounts from Ming dynasty and *Hikayat Hang Tuah*[1] of Malaysia.

Now, it is my pleasant duty to thank different libraries and persons who are responsible for the successful outcoming of this book.

In 1975, the first edition of *The Vijayanagar Empire* by me contained only the chronicles of Paes and Nuniz with a brief introduction to the history of Vijayanagar. A few years ago, I received a letter from the Director of National Book Trust, India asking me "how about adding other accounts on Hampi-Vijayanagar in the collection of chronicles of Paes and Nuniz". As it was my idea also, I jumped at the occasion and made a compilation of what is all has been said about Vijayanagar till A.D. 1878 to 1880 along with the main project or re-editing the chronicles of Paes and Nuniz. But, to my regret I have not been able to go through Jesuit letters and a few accounts in German which furnish valuable information on the empire and the capital but have not been exploited fully so far.

I am lacking in words to thank the Director of National Book Trust, India, for the freedom he offered me in the choice of texts and their edition. I am greatly indebted to him as well as to the Trust for their kindness. Similarly, for all his help our thanks due to Shri. Subba Rao the editor of NBT, the brain behind the scheme.

I am very grateful to Monsieur Maurice Rouch for his wonderful translation of the chronicles of Paes and Nuniz "*Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*". Owing to his translation I have been able to suggest better readings in Sewells' translation.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the help of our friend Monsieur Paul Martin Dubost who did the

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1. Hikayat Hang Tuah *(Menurut naskhah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustak)* ed. by Kassim Ahmad, M.A. (Malaya), Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kualalampur, 1975, pp. 374-376. There is a description of the capital in the days of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. This visitor enters the capital from the Eastern gate. He says that there were scenes representing episodes of Rāmāyana and on the Pāṇḍavas. Probably he entered by the gate which is now known as "Bhīma's gate".

most tiresome job of feeding the chronicles in my computer. Everyday, he would come and do his work with devotion. So, I express my sincere thanks to him.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the benefits I took from various libraries: in Paris: Biblitohèque Nationale, Musée Guimet, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Société Asiatique, Collège de France, Ecoles des Langues Orientales (INALCO) and Missions Etrangère; in London: the Royal Asiatic Society; in India: The Connemara library, Madras and in Mysore: the Oriental Research Institute and Epigraphical Survey of India.

Thanks to my professor Dr. G.S. Dikshit for going through the script, his corrections and timely suggestions. Lastly, I must thank my husband Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat for his help and support all along my endeavours, also for preparing the map of Hampi ruins with captions and our daughters Manonmani and Bhamati who helped me not in one but many ways.

I am grateful to the readers for their opinions and suggestions.

Sirigannaḍam gelge; Jai Bhuvanēśvari, Jai Karnāṭaka māte; Jai Hind

Paris
1996

VASUNDHARA FILLIOZAT

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The so-called Vijayanagara empire came into existence in the fourteenth century when alien invasions were knocking at the doors of South Indian kingdoms. Bounded by the river (Kṛṣṇa) in the north, the extreme point of Cape-comorin with southern ocean to the south and the two oceans to the east and the west this vast and the last Hindu empire protected the Hindu dharma for more than two centuries. Its contribution to the culture, art, architecture and literature of India is remarkable. If the architecture is highlighted by the vast hypostyle halls, open pillared maṇḍapa with colonnettes some times with musical quality, and, in the domain of music, Karnāṭaki style finds its roots here. In the revival of Hindu culture the most significant achievements are the commentaries by Sāyaṇa and Mādhava on Veda and allied topics. The fame of the empire went beyond the oceans. Many travellers from Italy, Portugal, Persia and Russia were attracted by its glory, and those who visited the capital have not failed to leave their reminiscences. These chronicles are very precious and they provide an invaluable information on customs, manners, festivities, warfare of this bygone empire.

But wrong statements, appellations and outdated literary evidences have misguided the historians and as a result the history of Vijayanagara is full of problems and hypotheses. It looks as if there are as many problems and theories as scholars who have worked on it. Amongst the mistakes the first and the foremost is the term Vijayanagara which stands for both the empire and the capital. This

mistake furthered other problems like the date of foundation of the empire, the role of Vidyāraṇya in it etc. As a result the history of Vijayanagara has become a bundle of enigmatic riddles. However, a thorough study of source material makes the facts clear and the doubts are removed.

Scholars keen on resolving these problems are well served with more than five thousand inscriptions on stones, copper-plates, and in a few cases on silver and gold plates. In addition to this a non-negligible quantity of contemporary and later literary works in all the three major languages of South India namely Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil besides Sanskrit and Marāṭhi provide a considerable amount of information. Added to this there are chronicles of foreign witnesses who visited the country and the capital not only during the heyday of the empire but also after its downfall. Their penpictures of the capital are useful in rewriting the history of the empire but to our misfortune, much of the source material has not yet seen the light of the day and that has led the scholars to arrive at contradicting conclusions.

The Name of the Empire and its Capital

Vijayanagara was so popular that foreign visitors have given more description of the capital than the empire. Moreover, most of them have highlighted the splendours of the capital only. They have spelt the name with various orthographs. Nicolo dei Conti who was in India about A.D. 1420-1421 spells the capital "Bizenegelia" (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire, p.80* 1962). Abdur Razzâk, Persian ambassador who was in the city during the reign of Dēvarāya II in A.D. 1442 mentions Bidjanagar as the name of the capital. (Sewell, ibid, p.85). Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna calls the capital Bisinegar (Richard Carnac Temple, *The Itineary of Ludonco di Varthema of Bilogna from 1502 to 1508* p.51). For almost all the Portuguese chroniclers, except Couto, the capital was Bisnaga. Whereas, Couto writes: "....and called it (the city) Visaja Nagar, which we corruptly call Bisnaga; and we call all the kingdom by that name, but the natives amongst themselves always call it the 'kingdom of Canara". (Sewell, Ibid, p.21).

By calling his book "A Forgotten Empire" Robert Sewell disseminated the error. After a brief introduction to the political conditions prevailing before the beginning of this new empire he writes: "This event was the foundation of the city and the kingdom of Vijayanagar" (*A Forgotten Empire*, p.1, 1962). According to him, as for the Portuguese both the empire as well as the capital had one and the same name viz Vijayanagar. Following his work here came out a number of books: *Never to be Forgotten Empire* by Suryanarayana Rao in which the author tried to defend that the "Vijayanagar Empire" was never forgotten and *Vijayanagar*. Origin of the *City and Empire* (University of Madras, 1933) by Nilakantha Shastri where in the first part the author writes on the history of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar and in the second part about the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Since then books on Vijayanagar continue to discuss this problem more or less in detail.

What made Sewell to commit such a mistake? This renowned scholar of yester years with meagre documentation at hand published his magnum opus *The Forgotten Empire* in 1900. His source material was essentially foreign records namely muslim chronicles and European travel accounts, besides a little from Indian sources such as epigraphs and literatures. Although the first two furnish an immeasurable amount of information but they cannot be relied upon due to their inaccuracy in recounting some facts. As cited above all of them have left many accounts

about the capital but none mentions correctly the name of the empire. Sāḷuva Narasiṃha was on the throne at Vijayanagar when the Portuguese first landed in Goa. So they called the kingdom Narasynga and the capital Bisnaga. These appellations continued to be in use till the end of the empire. In the centuries that followed only the name of the capital lingered on in the minds of the Europeans. So, in later travel accounts while writing the history irrespective of South or whole of India "Vijayanagara" was used as for the empire. These various facts made Sewell and his contemporary historians to use "Vijayanagar" to designate the empire.

But, if we look at epigraphs and contemporaneous literature in India, they paint an entirely different picture. According to these indigenous sources the Kingdom was going by the name of "Karnāṭaka" with its capital 'Vijayanagara" as mentioned by Couto. Right from the beginning to the decline, epigraphs[1] record the empire as "Karnāṭaka" and the capital "Vijayanagar". Same was the case in literary works too such as Kannaḍa, Sanskrit and Telugu[2]. But, it is surprising to notice that the European scholars of the past did not consider it worth their while to glean at Indian sources.

Karnāṭaka has a hoary past. From epigraphical and literary sources it is crystal clear that the new empire was called Karnāṭaka in which modern Tamilnāḍu and Āndhrapradesh were included. As a result, when the

1. See Epigraphia Carnatica (henceforth E.C) vols. and South Indian Inscriptions (henceforth S.I.I.) vols.
2. In almost all vedic commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava King Bukka is highly extolled as the emperor of Karnāṭaka. These same verses occur in the beginning and colophons of all their works. Also King Kṛṣṇarāya is mentioned as the emperor of Karnāṭaka in Āmuktamālyada.

ruling monarchs assumed the title of "emperors of Karnāṭaka" their vassals took pride in calling themselves "Nāyaka-s of Karnāṭaka". Even after the fall of the empire in 1565 this term continued to be in usage to designate the Nāyaka-s of Madurai, Tanjore and Vellore. Karnāṭaki was the name given to the style of music that was in practice in Nāyak kingdoms. In the history British encounters with Nāyaka-s of Madurai etc. have been entitled "Wars of Carnatic" or "Carnatic Wars". The irony of it is that for more than two centuries the actual state of Karnāṭaka did not figure amongst the geographical units of India but the name was appearing elsewhere.

The Capital

As we have shown above, Karnāṭaka was the name of the empire, now, to be solved is the question of its capital. It is an uncontestable fact that modern **Haṃpi** was chosen for capital and was named "Vijayanagar". Nuniz says that it was a desert place in which much hunting took place (see Nuniz Chapter IV). He was told so by the informant while recounting him the facts of the so-called foundation of the city. Nuniz was in the capital in or around A.D. 1535. The story of the formation of the new empire and its capital was woven into legends due to certain changes in the royal preceptorial powers which probably took place towards the end of the fifteenth century. With minor variations the same legend has been retold in literary works of different epochs and in a few fake copper plates too. Rarely some stone inscriptions of the fag end of the empire also mention this fact. Primarily the story goes like this:

Prince Harihara, founder of the first dynasty, once went for hunting with his hound. At one spot the hare which he was chasing turned against the hound and bit it. The prince was absolutely flabbergasted by this unusual

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As we have shown above, Karnāṭaka was the name of the empire, now, to be solved is the question of its capital. It is an uncontestable fact that modern **Hampi** was chosen for capital and was named "Vijayanagar". Nuniz says that it was a desert place in which much hunting took place (see Nuniz Chapter IV). He was told so by the informant while recounting him the facts of the so-called foundation of the city. Nuniz was in the capital in or around A.D. 1535. The story of the formation of the new empire and its capital was woven into legends due to certain changes in the royal preceptorial powers which probably took place towards the end of the fifteenth century. With minor variations the same legend has been retold in literary works of different epochs and in a few fake copper plates too. Rarely some stone inscriptions of the fag end of the empire also mention this fact. Primarily the story goes like this:

Prince Harihara, founder of the first dynasty, once went for hunting with his hound. At one spot the hare which he was chasing turned against the hound and bit it. The prince was absolutely flabbergasted by this unusual

event. So, he related it to vidyāraṇya the hermit, who was present there. To rule the country that is the right spot to establish a new capital said the latter. Thus, Hampi became the new capital of the forthcoming kingdom because it was the spot where the astonishing event took place and the year was A.D. 1336. To begin with the capital was named Vidyānagara in honour of the sage and in the course of time it became Vijayanagara. This empire survived for more than two centuries and a half.

As there is no coherence between different versions of this story, it is better to scrutinise the facts from other sources—namely inscriptions to obtain a better picture of the events that might have led to the choice of the new capital and its name.

Hampi was not an unknown place. It has a long history. Situated on the southern bank of Tuṃgabhadrā, Long. 76°-30' E and Lat. 15°-20' N, Hampi had always played an important role in the past. What is known as Kiṣkindhā in *Rāmāyaṇa* is on the other bank of the same river Tuṃgabhadrā. According to the same epic, unable to face Vāli's challenge for a combat, his younger brother Sugrīva took refuge at Mātaṅga in Hampi because he was aware of the curse on his elder brother which forbade his approach to the hill. It was also here Rāma met Hanumān and the latter was sent to Laṃkā as his envoy in search of Sītā where she was kept as prisoner by Rāvaṇa the ten headed and twenty armed demon king deeply in love with the divine lady. If this is the story in *Rāmāyaṇa* other stories occur in *Śivapurāṇa* and *Paṃpāmāhātmya*.

Owing to its association with Śiva since time immemorial Haṃpi is considered as one of the holiest places of pilgrimage by the Śivaites. Paṃpā and Virūpākśa (unusual eye) one of the names of Śiva, are the protecting

deities of Haṃpi. According to the local myths recorded in *Paṃpāmāhātmya*, being in love with Śiva, Goddess Paṃpā[1], another name of Pārvatī decided to lead an austere ascetic life and do penance to propitiate and marry Him. Finding the southern bank of river Tuṃgabhadrā an ideal place for the realisation of her ardent desire she took to severe penance. Pleased at her austerities Virūpākṣa (Śiva) appeared and invited Her to Hēmakūta, His residence where He would marry Her. After the marriage of the divine couple, goddess Paṃpā requested Virūpākṣa that the place should be called after her name. It was granted immediately and the original names viz. Virūpākṣatīrtha, Hēmakūṭa were replaced by Pampā and its vernacular forms are Hampe or Haṃpī.

Epigraphy

It is clear from epigraphical evidences that for a monarch in power it was normal to set out on victorious campaigns (vijayayātrā) to inspect the situation at frontiers which were most exposed to the external attacks. In February 1337, Ballāla III, practically the last king of Hoysala stock went on a "victorious campaign" of the northern frontiers of his kingdom[2]. Probably, this inspection must have induced him to build a strong capital in the region between

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1. In India almost every holy place has a story and its association with gods. This genre of literature is called Māhātmya, and, India is very rich in it. Basing on one major or many major Purāṇa-s the local stories or Sthalamāhātmya-s are composed. Paṃpāmāhātmya finds its sources in Skandapurāṇa. According to this Māhātmya, goddess Pārvatī, consort of Śiva was born to Brahmā as his "mānasaputrī" and was named Pampā meaning "She who protects the world by washing off the sins". In *Paṃpāmāhātmya*, ed: Halaharavi, 1933.

2. E.C. (in Old series) vol. IV no. Ch 204. A R M A D. 1937, no. 52. E.C. (New series) Vol. IV Ch. 295.

Kṛṣṇā and Tuṃgabhadrā rivers i.e. on the northern border of his realm, in order to check the alien military inroads. The choice of framing a new capital at Hampi was favoured not only by its geographical situation but also by its natural setting of rocky mountains playing the role of impregnable fort walls.

Right from the seventh century[1] Hampi begins to appear in inscriptions. In the year A.D. 1018, when Kalyāṇa Cālukya king Jagadēkamalla Jayasiṃhadēva II was then in power, his subordinate Noḷaṃbapallava Permānaḍi alias Udayāditya visited Paṃpāpura while governing the region from his residence at Kaṃpuli[2]. From this date onwards Hampi frequently appears in inscriptions and ruling sovereigns or their vassals made lavish grants to the temple of Virūpākṣa. An inscription dated A.D. 1199[3] in the temple complex of Virūpākṣa records a grant to the temple in the presence of seven hundred mahājana-s of Hampi which means that the place had already reached the status of a town with its own assembly of notables (mahājana-s). Apart from the religious activities in the temple, the same inscription also informs that a governor was appointed to protect it[4]. In those days the temples were always the pivots of urban development. So was the case with the temple of Virūpākṣa at Hampi. It was a fully developed town and not an uninhabited place as Nuniz relates.

Moreover, there are other inscriptions such as the one

1. Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society XVI, 232-242. Inscription of Bādāmi Cālukya king Vinayāditya.
2. South Indian Inscriptions vol. IX, pt.i, no. 80, line 12, no. 81, lines 16-17.
3. S II. vol.IV, no. 260.
4. Virūpākṣatīrtharakṣaṇārthaṃ Mātaṅgaparvatadim Pratipālisuttamire....*ibid* no. 260.

belonging to the rule of Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara[1] and another recording the construction of a triple celled shrine for Śiva by Kaṃpilarāya etc. All these historical facts confirm that Nuniz and a few later literary works were wrong in passing a remark that Hampi was uninhabited and the capital city was founded in 1336.

From the end of the thirteenth upto the beginning the fourteenth century was a time critical and a malefic to the South Indian rulers. Delhi Sultans encouraged by their growing might in the North, suddenly turned their eyes towards the South. The southern kings though more powerful were caught unaware. In A.D. 1310 Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji[2] devastated the South and invaded Dvārasamudra, took heir apparent Hoysaḷa. Ballāla IV as a war prisoner to Delhi before releasing him in the year A.D. 1313[3]. Again, around A.D. 1320 Sultan Muhmad Tughalak, raided the south on the pretext of punishing his nephew Baha-ud-din Gurshasp who had revolted against him. This was a big blow to the southern kingdoms where chaotic conditions prevailed, considerably everywhere Madurai, the capital of Pāṇḍya rulers came under the sway of Muslim sultans.

Most of the famous South Indian temples now were abandoned. Taking advantage of confused conditions temple properties were very conveniently sold out by the temple officials. Practically, Hoysaḷa Ballāla III was the only surviving ruler in the South and he was striving hard to establish law and order. Adding to his woes was a petty chieftain Kaṃpilarāya, king of Kummaṭa. Finally, towards A.D. 1327, Ballāla III put an end to the hostilities of

1. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (henceforth A R I E), 1935, no. 353.
2. E.C. vol VIII, (new series) Hāssan 138, 139.
3. E.C. VII, (old series). Shimoga 68.

Kaṃpilarāya in a battle where the latter lost his life. Following this victory of Ballāḷa III inscriptions issued between A.D. 1330 and 1342 mention a new capital called variously Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Virūpākṣa-Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Vijaya Virūpākṣa Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Virūpākṣapāda[1] etc.

Both, the god at Hampi and also the young prince Ballāla IV were called Virūpākṣa. The full name of the prince was "Vijaya Virūpākṣa Ballāḷa" and also "Haṃpevoḍeyar". So, Ballāla III nameḍ his new town[2] "Vijaya Virūpāksa Hosapaṭṭaṇa" after the local deity and his son Vijaya Virūpākṣa who is known to historians as Ballāḷa IV. Firishta makes some similar statement of the same event as above: "Ballāladeva then built the city of Vijayanagara...."beeje" to which "nugggar" was added".[3]

By taking into consideration that Virūpākṣa was one of the ancient names of Haṃpi it may not be wrong to identify this new capital "Virūpākṣa-Hosapaṭṭaṇa" with modern Hampi and its surrounding areas. On the testimony of inscriptions it appears that in the primitive days the eastern limit of Hampi was upto the site where now stands Kōdaṇḍarāma temple or slightly further[4] but definitely not beyond the gate leading to Viṭhalāpura; and, to the South Hēmakūṭa probably upto Kṛṣṇa temple;

1. E.C. X, Kolār 173, Pudupaḍaivīḍu (new residence); E C vol. V (old series) Arsikere 66, Virūpākṣapaṭṭaṇa; E.C. XII, Gubbi 30, Virupākṣa Hosadurga; E.C. XI, Dēvanahaḷḷi 21, Virūpākṣapāda; E.C. IX, Hoskōṭe 43, Vijayavirūpāksapura in 1342.
2. In Kannaḍa Hosa means new, and paṭṭaṇa-town. As Kannaḍa was an official language in the Hoysala kingdom the name of the capital is compose din Kannaḍa.
3. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, P; 27, 1962.
4. S. I. I.—IV, no. 254, 255. Also see Vasundhara Filliozat, *Aḷiduḷida Haṃpe*, 1982, p. 57 and the *Progress of research* 1983-84, no. 11 and 12, p. 29-30.

to the north the river and to the west Virūpākṣa temple itself.

Now remains the question of location of Hosapaṭṭaṇa. The land between the river and the Mātaṃga hill is too small for urban development and civil habitations. Whereas, the plain lying South-West of Mātṃga and Hēmakūṭa hills, now known as the palace zone and the heart of the capital city Vijayanagar, is much suitable for urban extensions. So, there is no wonder if Ballāla III might have chosen this area for the construction of the new town "Hosapaṭṭaṇa". Their geographical proximity to each other prompted the naming of the twin cities "Vijaya Virūpākṣa-Hosapaṭṭaṇa".

The same name "Hosapaṭṭaṇa"[1] appears in the early inscriptions of the upcoming Karnaṭaka empire. There is an inscription which records an invaluable information to those who want to show that Hosapaṭṭaṇa of Ballāla III was not different from the capital of the new empire. *Hoysaḷa bhūvibhūlakṣmīlapanamaṃ, Śrī vira Bukkarāya sāmrājyaramāramaṇīya-vilāsadarpaṇōpamaṃ enisi sogayisuva Hosapaṭṭaṇadoḷu*[2] in that shining Hosapaṭṭaṇa which was like the mirror to the goddess of the fortunate kingdom of Hoysala-s, comparable to the pleasure mirror of the beautiful lady, the goddess of the empire of Bukka". That means Hospaṭṭaṇa of Ballāḷa III was none other than the capital of Bukka, future king to rule from Vijayanagara.

Now Hosapaṭṭaṇa and its relation with Vijayanagar needs to be explained. The capital is mentioned as

1. S. I. I.—VII, no. 566, Mysore Archaeological Report 1925, no. 84. and E.c. XI, Citradurga 2 & 3, Hosapaṭṭaṇa;
2. Annual Report on Mysore Archaeology Department, 1921, no.48. On the basis of an erroneous interpretation of an inscription published in Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy 1927 some scholars have tried to identify Hosapaṭṭaṇa with Haṃpi. See S I I Vol.IX pt.i, no. 359. lines 11-12

"Vijayanagar" in an inscription as early as A.D. 1357[1] although, this name becomes current and lasting only ten years later i.e. from A.D. 1367 onwards. However, the fact that the rulers of the new dynasty were already in Haṃpi is attested by another inscription from Uḍipi, in A.D. 1355[2] when a grant was made in the temple of Virūpākṣa at Haṃpi.

A couple of inscriptions mentions the names of both Ānegoṃdi and Hospaṭṭaṇa[3]. To-day we see that both Ānegoṃdi and Vijayanagara are twin towns. It has been proved above that Hosapaṭṭaṇa was contiguous to old Hampi. As it is usual to say now Haṃpi-Ānegomdi probably, in those days, it was usual to say Ānegomdi-Hosapaṭṭaṇa. In an inscription dated A.D. 1368. "Abhinava Vijayanagara"[4] appears perhaps in souvenir of "Hosa" (abhinava) paṭṭaṇa. It is quite possible that from various old names of Hampi such as "Vijaya Virūpākṣapāda, Vijayavirūpākṣapura, Hosapaṭṭaṇa" and so on, only "Vijaya" was retained and "Hosa" and "paṭṭaṇa" were replaced by "abhinava" and "nagara" respectively. In course of time only "Vijayanagara" remained in usage and "abhinava" was dropped out. That is how the new capital "Vijayanagara" might have come into being, engulfing both the agglomerates: Haṃpi and Hosapaṭṭaṇa leaving no room for denouement of theatrical events: hare, hound, hermit and Harihara.

1. Armad 1924, Hassan taluk, no. 34, p-42; also in V. Filliozat : *L' epigraphie de Vijayanagar...* no. 49, p. 39.
2. S. I. I.—vol. VII , no. 303.
3. E C IX, Māgaḍi no. 18; E C II, (old series) Ed. rice: Śrvaṇabelgoḷa no. 136; same E.C. II ed. by R. Narasimhāchar, no. 344; In the new series of E.C. II no. 475; also in V. Filliozat. L'Epigraphie de....nos. 91, 92, p. 82-84.
4. E C. vol. VII, Shikaeripura no. 281, also in V. Filliozat L'Epigraphie....no.104, p. 93-94.

Date of the Foundation: 1336 or 1346?

This is another problem which makes for much ink to be spilt. According to a group of scholars the date of the foundation is A.D. 1336 while another set of scholars declare it to be A.D. 1346. Proponents of the former date base their arguments on hare, hound, hermit legend in literary works and facts recorded in a few fake copper plates whereas, the other group of scholars consider epigraphical and literary sources to advocate A.D. 1346.

An analysis of facts mentioned in the inscriptions discloses a different picture. It has already been shown above that the empire was called Karnāṭaka and the capital Vijayanagara. And also we have pointed out how the name for the capital was coined. But still let us see what must have been the cause for the concoction of so many legends?

The visit of Hoysaḷa Ballāla III to the northern frontiers of his kingdom in 1337 is a historical fact. It is quite probable that after this tour he must have called for a council of his vassals and relatives as related by Ferishta the muslim chronicler who writes: "This year Krishna Naig (Kṛṣṇānāyaka), the son of Ludder Dew (Rudra Dēva), who lived near Wurungole (Warangal), went privately to Bilal Dew (Ballāla Dēva), Raja of Carnatic (Karnāṭaka), and told him that he had heard the Mohomedans, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindoos (Hindus), that it was therefore, advisable to combine against them. Bilal Dew (Ballāla Dēva), convened the meeting of his kinsmen, and resolved, first, to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove his seat of government among the mountains. Krishna Naig (Kṛṣṇa Nāyaka) promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindoos (Hindus) of Wurungole (Warangal) and

Tulingana (Teliṅgāna), and put himself at their head.

"Bilal Dew (Ballala deva), accordingly, built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it after his son Beeja, to which the word nuggar, or city was added, so that it is by now known by the name of Beejanuggar. He then raised an army, and put part of it under the command of Krishna Naig (Kṛṣṇa Nāyaka), who reduced Wurungole (Warangal), and compelled Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlatabad (Daulatabad). Bilal Dew and Krishan Naig, united to their forces the troops of the Rajas of Maabir (Malabār) and Dwar-Samoodra (Dvārasamudra) who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic (Karnāṭaka). The confederate Hindoos seized the country occupied by the Mahomedans, in the Deccan, and expelled them, so that within a few months, Mahomed Toghluk had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlutabad (Daulatābād)".[1]

According to the chronicler it was in A.D. 1344[2] that the Hindu kings wove this plot. It is quite possible that after the northern frontier campaign in A.D. 1336-37 Ballālā III might have organised a congregation of south Indian chieftains and aroused them to unite under one banner to exterminate the muslims from their territories. It is possible that at this juncture his ideas were supported by Vidyātīrtha who was then pontiff of Śāradāpīṭha at Śṛṃgēri. A.D. 1342, at the age of eighty, in a bloody battle near Kaṇṇanūrkuppam, Ballāla III fell victim to the deceitfulness of enemies and lost his life. His son Ballāla IV shouldered the responsibility to continue his

1. Ferishta: *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*. Ed.by Briggs vol. I, p. 427.
2. But the date seems to be incorrect.

Father's mission. The prince was crowned in A.D. 1343[1] a year after his father's death. But, after A.D. 1345 there is no inscription bearing the names of Hoysaḷa kings. This points to the complete extinction of the Hoysala dynasty.

But the ideals of Hoysaḷa Ballāla III to have only one empire were carried out by five brothers of Saṅgama family with the blessings of Śriṃgēri pontiffs. The five brothers were sons of a local chieftain named Saṅgama who was probably a subordinate of the Hoyasalas. These five brothers were active even in the times of Ballāla III. One of their earliest inscriptions dated A.D. 1313[2] mentions Kaṃpaṇa. Then the next is issued in A.D. 1327 (E. C. III, old series, Nanjanagud, 152). More than twenty inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 1336 to 1346 are available to us. The most important of them is the one dated A.D. 1342 from Ānegoṃdi[3] itself. It records the construction of a Caitya by Irugappa minister of Harihara I while he was administering the region. The presence of this inscription at this spot itself is significant. It is a perfect proof of non-hostile relationship between the declining and the upcoming dynasties.

In A.D. 1346, in order to celebrate their success on the earth Harihara I with his brothers made an excellent grant[4] to Śāradāpīṭha at Śṛṃgēri. As days went by, this gesture of gratitude by the rulers to the pontiffs of Śāradāpīṭha and

1. E C VI, Cm 105.
2. E.C. X, Kolar 205, also in V. Filliozat, L'Epigraphie de....no.1, p.1.
3. Indian Epigraphy Annual Report for the year 1958, Inscriptions copied on stones....etc. in the year 1958-59, no. 678, p. 94. Also in V. Filliozat, L'Epigraphie du début.....Appendice, ins. no. 2, p. 139.
4. Jayotsavaṃ khyāpayitum akaroddharmamuttamam, E C VI, Shringeri 1, also in V. Filliozat...ibid, no. 14, p. 8.

their *serviteurs* (paricāraka) at Śṛṅgēri might have been the cause of many legends.

From the epigraphs it is clear that during the transitional period of ten years, between A.D. 1336 and A.D. 1346, the transfer of power from Hoysala to the new dynasty Saṃgama was gradual and progressive. No mark of hostility has been noticed in the records. Some historians like N. Venkataramanayya and Nilakantha Sastry have made frantic efforts to show the discord. (Further Sources of Vijayanagara by these authors).

The Role of the Sage Vidyāraṇya

Another problem which needs to be solved is the role of sage Vidyāraṇya during the so called foundation of Vijayanagara empire in A.D. 1336. Already it has been pointed out by us that there was neither the foundation of the empire nor the capital as such in A.D. 1336. However, more than one legend mentions sage Vidyāraṇya and credits him with being instrumental in the foundation of the new empire. According to the legends it was he who advised Harihar I to build a new capital where his hound was bitten by the hare. In order to finance the foundation ceremony, the sage prayed to goddess Bhuvanēśvari, one of the deities at Haṃpi, for blessings. Accordingly, Goddess, being pleased with his prayers, fulfilled his desire by showering gold upon him. This legend has come out in various colours and garbs in different literary works and chronicles. As there is not much historicity in these versions it is better to leave them aside to go through historical records about the life of the sage.

There is no authentic evidence to show that there was a sage called Vidyāraṇya who played a vital role during this period between A.D. 1336 and 1346. Whereas an

entirely different image is obtained if taken into consideration the historical records and the vedic commentaries which were written in the fourteenth century by the disciples of Sarādapīṭha at Srṃgēri. So, let us look back at the past history of the pīṭha.

As tradition has it, the Maṭha was founded by Śri Śaṅkarācārya himself somewhere in the eighth or ninth century and he called it Śāradāpiṭha after building a temple dedicated to the goddess Śāradā another form of goddess Sarasvatī. Since then, not being much in the picture, the Maṭha was functioning within its limits. The celebrated names of ācāryas like Sureśvara and others are remembered even to-day.

But, alarmed at the chaotic conditions of the fourteenth century south India, the pontiffs of Śṛṅgēri decided to strengthen their responsibility of protecting Hindu dharma. According to the inscriptions[1] Vidyātīrthamuni was then the Pontiff of Śāradāpīṭha. Amongst his disciples were three brothers Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha, sons of Māyaṇa and Śrīmatī of Bhāradvājagotra, Baudhāyanasūtra, Kṛṣṇayajuśśākhā. All three of them were engaged in the vedic studies in the Maṭha (see Parāśaramādhavīya: beginning and colophons). Under the advise of their Guru Vidyātīrthamuni the three brothers set out on a mission to persuade people to unite under one banner and fight for one empire. At this time, while Hoysaḷa dynasty was waning, five sons of a local chieftain Saṅgama were waxing in power.

Convincing campaigns of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava for unity met with unprecedented success and brought together all the vassals and relatives of Hoysaḷa monarchs to uphold their ideals. After the death of Ballāla IV the

1. E.C. VI, Shringeri 1; A R M A D 1933, Shringeri no. 2. V. filliozat, L'Epigraphie....no. 43, p 30-32.

last Hoysaḷa king, the reorganisation of a new empire began to take shape on the remains of previous kingdoms. To express their gratitude and to mark their accession to the power a grant was made by these new rulers to Śāradāpīṭha Śṃgēri in A.D. 1346. (Śriṅgēri inscription no. 1 in E.C. vol. VI). The same inscription also records that Kikkāyitai, a dowager queen of Ballala III joined hands with the new rulers in their endeavours and added the revenue of a few villages which were under her governorship. This event can be taken as the real starting date of the future Karanāṭaka empire with its capital at Haṃpi-Vijayanagara.

Harihara I, the eldest of the five brothers assumed powers and Mādhava became his minister and adviser[1]. Later, he became "kulaguru" family preceptor of Bukka (see Parāśaramādhavīya) while Sāyaṇa became a minister of Kaṃpa I younger brother of Harihara I. In 1349, on the death of Kampa I his son Samgama succeeded him and Sāyaṇa continued in his ministerial post.

Right from the beginning of the empire Bukka I stood next to his brother Harihara I in the administration of the new kingdom before finally assuming full powers by A.D. 1356-57. No sooner the political situation came under control, Bukka I wished to revive vedic studies and so he requested Mādhavācārya to undertake the work of commenting Vedas. But the compassionate Mādhavācārya (krpālu mādhavācārya) entrusted the responsibility to his younger brother Sāyaṇa assuring the ruler that his brother is equally capable. To fulfill his brother's wish, Sāyaṇācārya executed the royal project efficiently with the help of able pandits (scholars). Even now, vedic students cannot forgo with these commentaries. In every commentary there is a

1. See his commentary on Purāṇasāra, ed. by late lamented G.H. Phathak, to be published by ORI, Mysore.

prologue in which Sāyaṇācārya relates the following events that led to the realisation of the work.

After obeisance to God Gaṇēśa the commentator salutes his guru "Vidyātīrthamuni" through whose "kaṭākṣa" grace, he obtained knowledge. Then he proceeds to relate the events namely the king expressing his wish to Mādhavācārya and how he was entrusted to do this work. In the colophons of almost all his vedic commentaries there occurs "Mādhavīye Vedārthaprakāśe....". The work has been done for bringing to the light the essence of veda related to Mādhava. Here the word "Mādhava" might be standing for the series or collection of works suggested by Mādhava himself. Whereas, a significant change of formula occurs in the colophon of Taittīriyopaniṣad "Mādhavavidyāraṇyasambandhi vedārthaprakāśe..."[1]

Why do both the names "Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya" occur together here? Probably, this is an indication that Mādhava renounced the mundane life to embrace "saṃnyāsa" and became an ascetic under the name of "Vidyāraṇya. The statement that Mādhava became Vidyaraṇya can be strengthened by one more reference.

We all know that the commentary on Parāśarasmṛti is the work of Mādhavācārya and that is why it is also known as "Parāśaramādhavīya" (Vavilla edition, 1883). After the invocatory verses to gods and to his guru Vidyātīrtha the commentator gives a detailed account of his family: Bhāradvājakula, Baudhāyanasūtra; names his parents: Māyaṇa and Srīmatī: brothers: Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha; and that he was guru and also mantri (minister) to Bukka. Further he says that he is "Sakalapurāṇasaṃhitāpravartaka" on the basis of his earlier work.

2. Taittirīyopaniṣatsaṭīkāśaṅkarbhāṣyopetā, Ānandashram series, vol. 12, Śālivāhana Śaka 1811.

From the colophons of "Jīvanmuktiviveka" we know that Vidyāraṇya had authored it. After the introductory verses the author mentions that "three kinds of "saṃnyāsa (asceticism) have been explained by him in Parāśarasaṃhitavyākhyā and now he will explain the fourth kind of saṃnyāsa namely "paramahaṃsa" i.e. renunciation from child-hood itself. (Adyar publication, Madras, 1935-36). This is a clinching evidence[1] to show that Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya were the names of one and the same person and not two different persons. Probably, when the new empire came to a stable state Mādhava renounced everything to become an ascetic. According to the custom of renunciation the renouncer must renounce everything including his own name. So, Mādhāvacārya followed the rule. Along with all his belongings he renounced his original name too and became Vidyāraṇya. After his initiation in asceticism he adorned the pontifical seat of Śāradāpītha at Śṛṃgeri under the new name "Vidyāraṇya". He remained pontiff till A.D. 1385 when he became "paripūrṇa" that is attainment of plenitude "brahman". As he belonged to the group of promulgators of the non-dualist theory, according to whom at the end the soul (ātman) unites with the supreme soul (paramātman). Thus one becomes "paripūrṇa".

When Bukka I was on the throne, a grant was made to Vidyātīrthaśripāda for the maintenance of brahmins[2]. An

1. An interesting paper on this topic was read by late K. Krishnamurti in the seminar on Vijayanagara held at Hospet in the year 1970. Unfortunately, it is still unpublished. See his article "Identity of Mādhava and Vidyārṇya" in *Early Vijayanagara studies* in its history and culture, ed. by Prof. G.S. Dikshit, B M S Memorial Foundation, Bangalore, p. 35ff.
2. A R M A D 1933, Kadur dist. Sringeri jāgir no. 2 V. Filliozat, L'Epigraphie de....no. 43.

inscription dated A.D. 1375[1] is practically the first to introduce the name of Vidyāraṇya and a grant made for offerings in the temple of Śaṅkaradēva at Śṛṅgēri. The second inscription of A.D. 1378 records that the sage advised the young prince Virupaṇṇa to make some donations to a temple at Munivūru (E.C. VI Koppa 30). After the ascetic's death, king Harihara II built a temple to commemorate the event and created a brahmin town "agrahāra" at modern Kigga in A.D. 1385.[2] So, the temple built in memory of the saint was at Kigga near Śṛṅgēri and not at Hampi as Nuniz has wrongly stated.

The name of Vidyāraṇya appears neither in Harihara I's grant in A.D. 1346 nor in Bukka I's in A.D. 1355 because there was no sage of that name then. On the contrary, Vidyātīrtha and his contemporary Bhāratītīrtha appear in the inscriptions of these first two kings. Reverence to guru Vidyātīrtha is made by Sāyaṇācārya, Mādhavācārya as well as Vidyāraṇya in the beginning of their works and also in the epigraphs of two kings Harihar I and Bukka I.

So, from the above facts it can be surmised that Vidyātīrtha was on the pontifical seat at Śṛṅgēri and under his guidance and advice Mādhava, Sāyaṇa helped the five brothers in bringing up the new empire. A few years after the formation of the new empire Mādhava embraced Samnyāsa to become Vidyāraṇya. The fact that Mādhava became Vidyāraṇya and his participation in the formation of the new empire is the source for many a legend like "Vidyāraṇya" and the foundation of so called "Vijayanagara empire". As days rolled on these historical facts were obscured by legends. As legends are much more colourful and attractive in no time they gained terrain

1. Annual Report on south Indian Epigraphy 1929, App. B. no. 460, p. 44. Also in V. filliozat, L'Epigraphie de...., appendice, no. 25, p. 145.
2. A R M A D 1933, This is a copper plate grant.

pushing the real facts to die and vanish in the dark[1].

The Origin of the First Dynasty

Altogether three dynasties ruled over Karnāṭaka namely Saṃgama or Saṅgama, Sāluva or Sāḷuva or Sāḷva and Tuluva or Tuḷuva from their capital Vijayanagar. Most of the modern historians have made an attempt to discuss and decide on the origin of these dynasties. During the glorious days of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, Telugu was in the limelight and never did it cease to ascend even after the downfall of the empire[2].

Despite the fact that Haṃpi is in Karnāṭaka the popularity of Telugu gave the idea to raise an unwanted problem of Telugu or Kannaḍa origin of these dynasties to the first historians of British origin working for the British crown in India.

To some historians the kings of first dynasty belonged to a shepherd tribe (Kuruba origin); to others they belonged to Kadaṃba stock; to many the family hailed

1. Recently an inscription has been discovered and published in the Vijayanagara Progress of Research 1984-87 by Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore. This epigraph records the erection of a lamp pillar by a certain Śaśadhara son of Mādhava of Bhāradvājagotra. The editor got confounded between the name of this Mādhava with the other Mādhava of Āṅgirasagotra. p. 32-33. In another inscription Sāyaṇācārya is called "mudraciddi" corrupt form of "mudrāsiddhi" i.e. who was well versed in "mudrāsiddhi-s" of Pātañjalayogasūtra. Mudrā-s like Uḍḍyāṇamudrā etc. Late Rama Rao thought Sāyaṇācārya had the power to stamp royal seals and I thought it must be a town's name. See my thesis L' Empire de Vijayanagara....p. 13. Both of us were wrong.

2. This fact is quite striking during Nāyak rule in Madurai, Tanjore, Vellore etc. between XVI and XIX centuries. During these centuries the region was known as Karnāṭaka or Carnatic where Telugu was court and popular language although these districts were and are in Tamilnāḍu.

from Āndhra and the rest think that they were originally Kannaḍigas.

The first two theories do not hold good as there is no ground to consolidate them. So they have been dropped out. But the last two viz. Telugu and Kannaḍa origin are still current and much ink has been spilt on the problem. The propounders of Telugu origin, mostly from Āndhra and a few Telugu speakers based in Karnāṭaka use some literary works of seventeenth, eighteenth centuries, chronicles and a few fake charts engraved on copper plates. Basing their arguments upon these fragile documents great stalwarts like N. Venkataramanayya, Neelakantha Sastry and others thought that the Saṅgama family hailed form Āndhra. They have taken for granted the facts recorded in these documents.

The story goes like this in these texts. The two brothers were in the service of Vira Pratāpa Rudra of Waraṅgal. Following the defeat of the latter in the war with the sultan of Delhi, the two brothers were carried to Delhi as war prisoners. On the way, one night when there was a heavy thunder shower all the soldiers of the sultan deserted him except the two captives. The sultan being pleased with their honesty and courage gave them the kingdom of Karnāṭaka.[1]

According to the champions of Telugu origin, as the brothers were in the service of Pratāpa Rudra, that means they were Telugu. How strong is this theory can be verified from the sources that have been taken into account by them.

Ibn Battûta who was an eyewitnesst of these events writes "eleven sons of 'Canibilah' (Kaṃpila) were taken to the Sultan, and were made musalmans. The sovereign

1. See N. Venkataramanayya and Nilakantha Sastry. Further Sources of Vijayanagara.

named them "emirs" as much for their noble birth as for their father's actions." He further writes that one of them called Almuhurdâr holds a ring which stamps the (pot) of water that the monarch drinks.[1]

Ferishta too mentions an event of similar type. Relying upon such documents, Defremery and Sanguinetti, editors of Ibn Battûta have added in notes that amongst the captives were Harihara and Bukka and they later returned to the south to establish from 1346 onwards a big hindu empire of Vijayanagar[2]. Already it has been pointed out by us that the date of Ferishta's chronicle is too late to be relied upon for this period specially the beginning of Karnatāḳa (Vijayanagara) history.

As Ferishta's informant and the archives he consulted are not known to us, it is difficult to accept the editor's identification of the two brothers with the captives of the sultan. Moreover, amongst the captives mentioned by

1. La ville fut envahie, ses habitants furent faits captifs, et l'on prit onze fils du ŝai de Canbilah, qu'on amena au sultan, et qui se firent musulmans. Le souverain les créa emires et les honora beaucoup, tant a cause de leur naissance illustre qu'en considération de la conduite de leur père. Je vis chez le sultan, parmi ces frères, Nasr, Bakhtiyâr, et Almuhurdâr. Celui-ci tient la bague dont on cachette l'eau que doit boire le monarque; son surnom est Aboût Moslim, et nous étions camarades et amis''. Tr. by C. Defremery and B.R. Sanguinetti (1858), Editions La Découverte, Paris Ve, 1990, vol III, p. 72. Note Battûta says that Sultan made them "emires". Nothing more. Ferishta who wrote two centuries later made a fiction and said that kingdom of Karnāṭaka was given to the brothers.

2. Ferishta Ibid p. 72, n. 12. Not a single inscription mentions about the imprisonment of five brothers nor the conversion to Islam nor the animosity with the Hoysaḷas. True, there are one or two inscriptions mentioning a certain Harihara as "bhaṇḍāri". Another one records that the king was in Gutti in 1345. How far can he be identified with the same Harihara I who will assume powers in A.D. 1346?

Battûta there is absolutely no clue to identify two of them as Harihara and Bukka.

An entirely different picture[1] emerges out if the Indian documents specially the two hundred or more inscriptions belonging to the period of first five princes of the dynasty, ranging from the beginning to A.D. 1377.

From later records it is given to understand that Saṅgama was a petty chieftain, probably in the service of Hoysaḷa kings though there are no records of his to attest it. Like the epic king Pāṇḍu Saṅgama also begot five sons: Harihara also called Hukka;[2] Kaṃpa or Kaṃpaṇṇa I, Bukka I, Mārappa and Muddappa.

The original home and the mother tongue of these brothers cannot be determined because, being very tolerant they patronised both the languages viz. Kannaḍa and Telugu. By and large, inhabitants of borderlands are conversant with two or more languages. People of Haṃpi and Ānegondi were and are no exceptions to it as the region falls between the borders of Karnāṭaka and Āndhra. Most of them had mastery over not only both the languages but Sanskrit and sometimes Tamil too. Ānegondi Viṭhappa was the minister of Bukka I and Kaṃpa II., His work is in Telugu. Dēpāraja's *Sobagina sōne* is in Kannaḍa. As there are no authentic inscriptions to help us to solve the problem of their original language we are obliged to leave it

1. V. Filliozat: *L'Epigraphie de Vijayanagar*: du debut a 1377. Published by Ecole Française d'Extrème Orient, Paris, 1973. This being my doctoral thesis I have treated this topic in detail. Also see "Vijayanagar sāmrājya sthāpane" by me in Kannaḍa published by Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat, Bangalore.

2. In the name Hukka "Hu" is pronounced as "u" in put. Similarly, in Bukka also "Bu" is like "u" in put. Refer to E.C. V, Arakalgudu 68, dated 15th February 1357. Both the princes are mentioned as "Hukkaṇṇodeya and Bukkaṇṇoḍeya'. Also see in V. Filliozat. L'Epigraphie de...., no. 46. p. 36-37.

here without going into further discussion. However, we would like to draw the attention of readers to note the contribution of these kings to the culture of India in general and Karnāṭaka in particular.

The modesty of first kings of Karnāṭaka who ruled from the capital city Vijayanagara becomes apparent through the titles they adopted. Harihara I and his brothers called themselves "mahāmaṇḍalēśvara" or overlords of vassals, as a sign of respect to the defunct dynasty of Hoysaḷa their supreme lords. High sounding titles like "King of kings" Seignor of supreme lords etc were borne by Bukka I at the fag end of his rule and then by his sons and successors but not by Harihara I.

Why the first ruler chose the title "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara" is self explanatory, because when he assumed power most of the Hoysaḷa vassals came to support the ideals of the new empire. To quote a few examples[1]:

Kikkāyitai or Kṛṣṇātāyi is most important. She was the governor of Sāntaḷige 1000, a region between South Kanara and Śimoga districts. Although she was a dowager queen of Ballāḷa III and she had a son of her own but she still stood to support in the efforts of consolidating the new empire. It was really great of her to join hands with the brothers when they sent a royal epistle to Śāradāpīṭha at Śṛṅgēri and granted the revenue of a few villages from the territory under her governance (E.C. VI Śringeri I. Also V. Filliozat, ibid., no. 14). In another inscription her name occurs first before Harihara I's. This is a sign of his respect to the wife of his defunct overlord i.e. Ballāḷā III. (E.C. VIII. Tirthahalli 154; also V. Filliozat, *Vijayanagara Sāmrājya sthāpane*, p. 26).

Another person worth mentioning is

1. For more details see my article in "Itihas" Journal of the Āndhra Pradesh Archives, vol. I-No.2, January-June 1974; p. 27-34.

Ballappadaṇṇāyaka, younger brother of Dāṭi Siṅgeyanāyaka and the son of Dāṭi Sōmeyadaṇāyaka. They were in the service of Hoyasaḷa Ballāḷa III. Probably the father belonged to some branch of the royal family (E.C. IX, Anekal 84 and Hosakote 90). Although not the son of Ballāḷa III Ballappadaṇṇāyaka is mentioned in many inscriptions as "*kumāra*" (son) of the king. This may be an indication that Ballappa was as dear as a son to the king. The same name Ballappa appears in the royal epistle (mentioned above), sent to Śṛṅgēri. In this grant he is called "Aḷiya"[1]. It is quite possible that the same Ballappa who was in the service of Ballāḷa III accepts to serve upcoming Saṅgama kings. In the archives of the Śṛṅgeri maṭha there are some documents known as *kaditas*. According to one of them in A.D. 1346, along with one of the young princes of the ruling family Ballappa was sent to Śāradāpīṭha to effectuate the clauses of the royal grant. Besides, in inscriptions of Saṅgama dynasty, he is always called "Aḷiya Ballappadaṇṇāyaka". The last document mentioning his name is dated A.D. 1360 probably three years after the death of Harihar I (E.C. IX, B1. 101; V. Filliozat, *L'Epigraphie de*...No.60).

Mallinātha is another personage worth mentioning. He was the son of Aḷiya Soyināyaka or Sāyyanāyaka[2]. There is an inscription in Citradurga fort and in this Sayyana

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Kukkalanāḍu

The region around Bangalore was called Kukkalanāḍu during the times of Ballāla III. The governors of this nāḍu who were vassals under Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III accepted the overlordship of Saṅgama brothers as early as 10 September 1342.[2]

Apart from these important examples many more can be cited to substantiate that there was no feud between the Hoysaḷas and the Saṅgama brothers. On the contrary, the transfer of power between the two royal families was gradual and progressive without any bloodshed.

Whether their mother tongue was Kannaḍa or another language is less important when compared to their contribution to save hinduism at a critical moment. So, I am of the opinion that it is worthwhile to evaluate their contribution to the Indian culture and particularly to the entire South India which to them was "Karnāṭaka".

History of Karnataka Kings

Three dynasties ruled over Karnataka empire from their capital Vijayanagar:

1. E.C. XI, Citradurga 2 & 3. Also in V. Filliozat, L'Espigraphie de...Nos. 39 & 44.
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Saṅgama or Saṃgama (A.D. 1336-1346 to 1485)

The first dynasty which was established at the capital city Vijayanagar and ruled over Karnāṭaka was called "Saṅgama" after the name of the father of the new rulers who were five brothers. As we have said earlier, absolutely no document is at the disposal of scholars about Saṅgama or his ancestors. A copper-plate record belonging to the times of Harihara II mentions that Saṅgama took "Tañcai", built a bridge over Kāveri and captured Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa"[1] etc. Yet, another inscription of Harihara II mentions that the father of Saṅgama was called Bukka[2]. With regard to other facts about ancestral history of the first dynasty nothing more is available to the scholars except these records.

Harihara I was nominated to the throne and he assumed full powers from 1346 onwards. Owing to the disturbed political situation his coronation must have been done secretly at Hampi if there is any historicity in a Kannaḍa folk song, according to which Harihara I was anointed to the throne secretly on the day of Vijayadaśami[3]. Perhaps, this must be the reason why Vijayadaśami festival acquired so much importance. (See Paes and Nuniz's vivid description of this festival).

After the accession to the throne, Harihara I spent much of his time in the consolidation of the empire. The protection of different divisions and regions of the

1. Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society 1896, p. 340-396. Same exploits are attributed to Sāḷva Narasimha and Tuḷuva Narasimha in later documents. So how far can this be taken as historical fact, one cannot say?
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2. E.C. IV (N. Series), Cāmarājanagara 168.
3. Gadgimath, Kannaḍa Janapada sahitya, Karnatak University, Dharwar, V. Filliozat, op. cit. introduction. Even today, in Karnāṭaka this festival is celebrated in the name of "nāḍahabba" national or state festival.

kingdom were entrusted to his brothers, nephews, governors and vassals. Udayagiri or Eastern part was governed by his immediate younger brother Kaṃpa I with the great future vedic scholar Sāyaṇa as his minister. This unfortunate prince Kampa I, met with untimely death in A.D. 1349 and his son Saṅgama I occupied his father's vacant place. Sāyaṇa continued to be the minister.[1] The premature death of Kaṃpa I led to the nomination of Bukka I to the throne as prince heir apparent. From inscriptions it appears that right from A.D. 1350 the joint rule of Harihara I and Bukka I began but from A.D. 1355 onwards, the latter's name alone occurs frequently.

Hampi became the royal capital, god Virūpākṣa royal deity and the name of the god Virūpākṣa the royal signet[2]. Harihara had Mādhava the future Vidyāraṇya as his minister. Considerable efforts were made by the ruler to establish peace and order to stabilise the kingdom. Probably, Harihara I died in 1357 as there are no records of his after this date except the one inscription, unfortunately much mutilated, of Aliya Ballappa which begins with "....muṇrāvatu..." i.e. in the third year; does it mean to say "in the third year after the death of Harihara I[3]? The other two brothers, Mārappa and Muddappa were in charge of other regions of the empire namely Āraga and Goa. Kikkāyitai, dowager queen of Ballāḷa III was the governor of Sāntaḷige 1000 and Maleya Daṇṇāyaka at Bārakūr and Maṅgaḷūr.

Bukka I (A.D. 1350-1377) is known as the real architect of both the capital and the empire. During his period

1. R. Narasimhachar, Indian Antiquary, LXV. V. Filliozat, Vijayanagar Sāmrājya Sthāpane, Kannada Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore, 1978. P. 52-53.
2. S.I.I. VII, no. 303. V. Filliozat, L' Epigraphie de...no.47, pp. 37.
3. E.C. IX B1. 101, V. Filliozat, L'Epigraphie de...., no. 60, p. in XXXIII and 52.

"liberation of Madurai" is one of the major events. Soon after his nomination to the position of heir-apparent, in A.D. 1354, his son Kaṃpaṇa II was dispatched on an important mission in the south. Readers may recall that owing to the frequent invasions by Delhi Sultans whole of South India was in chaos. Taking advantage of the confused state, many temple properties were mishandled. So, it was imperative for Bukka I to restore peace and order in this region and this duty was entrusted to prince Kaṃpaṇa II.

In A.D. 1354, young prince Kanpaṇa II, son of Bukka I and Dēvāyi set out on a victorious campaign in the South-east from his headquarters Mulbāgila (eastern gate) which was the capital of "Nikarili Cola Maṇḍala". It is almost an example in the history how a young prince through efficient handling solved the cyclopean problem. In this Madurai liberation campaign, the prince was supported by efficient ministers cum generals like Ānegondi Viṭhappa, Gōpaṇṇa, Somayya, Gaṇḍaragūḷi Māranāyaka and others. The study of epigraphy reveals the fact that the prince went from place to place to study the situation to restore peace and order. The infliction of a crushing defeat on Śāmbhuvarāya of Rājagaṃbhīramale by his general Gaṇḍaragūli Māranāyaka is one amongst his visits to various places and achievements; the re-installation of rituals in the temple of Śrī Ranganātha at Śrīraṅgam is another; chasing the Muslims from Madurai and re-opening the temple of Mīnākṣī for worship in circa 1374 is the crowning event in this campaign. By this date (1374) the deafening noise of victorious drums of Karnāṭaka empire were heard upto Rāmēśvaraṃ the extreme southern part of India.

"Vijayanagar" as name of the capital was confirmed and came to be more frequent in the usage. Probably, the gates of the internal fort-circuit (oḷakōṭe) were

strengthened and named. One of the inscriptions on them runs as follows: Śrī vīra Bukkarāyana Vijayanagarada paṭṭaṇada mūḍaṇa siṅghārada hebbāgila....[1]

In the field of cultural developments the revival of vedic studies is the most noteworthy point. The work of commenting vedas and allied subjects started by Mādhava was continued by his younger brother Sāyaṇa about whom it has been discussed above. Parāśaramādhavīya seems to be second work of Mādhavācārya the first being Purāṇasāra.[2] Whereas, Subhāṣitasudhānidhi was authored by Sāyaṇācārya when he was the minister of Saṅgama II. Later, on the suggestion of Mādhavācārya, Bukka I entrusted Sāyaṇācārya to comment on the Vedas. Śriṅgēri was converted into an "agrahāra" brahmin town where Sāyaṇa's assistants were given full facilities for their livelihood so that they will be free from worries and attend to their intellectual pursuits in peace and serenity.[3] Vedic commentaries of Sāyaṇa are so valuable that they serve as standard reference for vedic scholars even.

A year after the nomination of Harihara I to the throne, in A.D. 1347, a few hundred kilometres north of Kṛṣṇā took shape a new kingdom ruled by the muslims called "Bahamani". The land between the two rivers Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā was a bone of contention between the two empires. Ferishta, muslim chronicler, writes about many bloody battles that were fought for the supremacy

1. Vijayanagara, Progress of research 1983-84; Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1985, nos. 2 & 3 p. 21-23ff. It refers to a watch-tower near the main gate called "singhārada Hebbāgila" in Bukkarāya's Vijayanagara town"...Also see subsequent numbers of the series for further details...
2. Op. cit.
3. Last descendents of these families are still in Śriṅgēri and are in possession of old records of this date. See A R M A D 1935.

over this region. According to him the grace of the goddess of victory changed camps frequently. As there are no epigraphical sources neither to corroborate nor to contradict the chronicler's information we will not go any further on this point. But, it is clear that Bukka I ruled vigilantly over this region to put an end to the hostilities till his successful reign came to an end on 24 February 1377. (V. Filliozat, L'Epigraphie de...p. XXXIII).

M.H. Rama Sharma writes thus about Bukka "He had most of the qualities that make men at once popular and successful in life. As a brother, as a subordinate, as a master, as a disciple and as a king he earned good opinion of all. Shrewd and far-sighted, with lion-like courage and lofty spirit, true of speech and quick in action, devoted to religion, self-collected in adversity, impartial by nature, yet discriminate in his choice of men and judgement, this is how he is described in both literature and inscriptions".[1]

Nothing much can be said about Mārappa and Muddappa, the last two brothers of Harihar, as not many of their documents are available. So, we shall proceed to the reign of Harihara II one of the sons of Bukka I.

The rule of Harihara II (A.D. 1377-1404) began in glory. He was the son of Bukka I and queen Tārāmbikā and was the first of the dynasty to assume regular royal titles like *Mahārājādhirāja, rājaparamēśvara* etc. unlike his father and uncles. He had two more titles "Rāja Vyāsa and Rāja Vālmīki" (S I I XVI, no. 12) due to his supreme patronage for the literary activities which were already begun during his father's time. Like his father and uncle Harihara I, he also paid homages to Śāradāpīṭha through rich endowments in cash and kind to pursue the project of

1. M.H. Rāma Sharma: *The History of Vijayanagara Empire*, ed. by M. H. Gopal, Bombay Popular Prakashan, 1978, vol I. p. 35.

commenting vedas. Irugappa, another minister of his compiled a dictionary entitled 'Nānārtharatnamālā". Muddaṇa one more ministers of his began his works on Śaivism which led to the Viraśaivism of subsequent centuries. Side by side, other literary developments also flourished in the capital so much so that Vijayanagara the city of victory became city of knowledge "Vidyānagara".

Territorial aggrandisement and consolidation continued quite efficiently under Harihara II. Gajapatis in the east and Bahamanis in the north were trying their best to stretch their legs in the Karnāṭaka territories but needless to say that the results of their efforts were next to nothing. Virupākṣa, son of Harihara II led his army upto Ceylon, conquered a few regions of it and returned with many war trophies.[1]

The temple of Viṭhala probably was built by Harihara II's minister Viṭhappa of Brahmakṣatriya family. A grant made in the presence of the god in A.D. 1406 has been recorded in an inscription (E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 221 & 222). Originally the temple must have been a small shrine and during Tuḷuva period, it underwent many changes and renovations to take the form we see it today. This temple is considered a "gem of Karnāṭaka (Vijayanagara) architecture". Minister Irugappa author of *Nānārtharatnamāla* also had a temple built in maṇikuṭṭimavīthi and dedicated it to Kunthujinanātha (S. I. I.—i, no. 152). Another minister Muddaṇa granted some lands and money for the perpetuity of rituals in the temple of Virūpākṣa in Hampi-Vijayanagar. Adjacent to Virūpākṣa, a temple was built on the Hēmakūṭa to a great devotee of Śiva viz. Viṣṇu by

1. *Unmattarāghava* by Virupākṣa, Adyar library, 1946, p. 2. *Nārāyaṇīvilāsa* (unpublished); V. filliozat, Facts mentioned in Kāvyas contradicted by inscriptions, *Sternbach Felicitation Volume.*

Virūpākaṣapaṇḍita of Bhāradvājagotra, author of thirteen works[1].

Two more temples were built: one for Viṣnu/ Narasiṃha and another for Śiva on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrā.[2]

These examples prove the extension of the capital was upto Viṭhala in the north and jaina (now known as Gāṇagitti) temple in the south west which were outside the circuit wall of the main fort. The king's title of "catussamudrādhipati" was justified because the borders of his empire were touching the ocean in the south, river Kṛṣṇā in the north, and to the east and the west the oceans.

That the great king Harihara I breathed his last on 30, August 1404 is established by two epigraphs.[3]. Probably, after two years of negotiations and discussions his son Dēvarāya I was crowned King in A.D. 1406. Many modern historians think that there was a fight for the throne amongst the brothers (a kind of *yādavīkalaha*) but as no inscription makes any allusion to such an event it is better to suspend the discussion here to proceed further to see the progress of the empire in various fields. Bukka II and Virupaṇṇa II, who were ruling the kingdom during the interim period of two years, returned to their respective regions of governorship in Tamilnāḍu and Udayagiri respectively.

Dēvarāya I : A.D. 1406-1422. Bukka II and Virupaṇṇa II, two other sons of Harihara II, ruled over the kingdom till A.D. 1406 when the future king Dēvarāya I was still the

1. M E R 1934-35, app. B. no. 351, p. 40. This unpublished inscription is in Kannaḍa but engraved in Nandināgari characters.
2. V. Filliozat, *Aḷiduḷida Haṃpe*, p. 62-63. These two temples are on the way to viṭhala in Haṃpi. Also, see Vijayanagar Progress Research reports, Mysore.
3. E.C. II (New series). no. 446; E.C. (Old series) VIII, Tirthahalli 129, p. 12.

governor of Udayagiri. On 5 November A.D. 1406, Dēvarāya I was officially crowned and declared king of Karnāṭaka (Vijayanagara) empire. Probably, he was engaged in a war against Bahamani sultan fought at Mānvi near Raicūr at the time of his father's death (A.R.I.E. 1961-62, app, D. no. 215, p. 55).

Dēvarāya I's rule was quite smooth except for a few skirmishes with Gajapati kings and Bahamani sultans. According to muslim chroniclers, Raicūr and Mudgal were lost to the Karnāṭaka king following a defeat in the war but the epigraphs contradict this statement and instead eulogise his victory. It is possible that two battles were fought and the hindus lost the first one. And, the chroniclers make an allusion to the victory of muslims in the war fought before Dēvarāya I's accession to the throne whereas epigraphs record his victory in the second war after his coronation.

In the year A.D. 1412, on the cross roads of two highways a water-shed (aravaṭṭige) was built for the sake of travellers (SII IX, pt.ii, no. 436). A well was sunk. A mango grove with pavilions for resting were set. Also, financial provisions were made for the livelihood of those who were in the services of water distribution. Now, there are no other remnants mentioned in the grant except the well *in situ* . which is on the way to Haṃpi from Hospet, near Malpanagudi. Probably, here was the cross-road outside the Vijayanagar fort walls.

In A.D. 1416, a grant was made for the rituals of god Rāmacandra (now known as Hazara Rāma). This proves that the temple was already functioning as early as in A.D. 1416 (S.I.I. IV, no. 251). Much attention was paid to the irrigation work both in the capital as well as in the empire. For the beautification of the capital aqueducts were built for supplying water to gardens and fountains.

An image of god Vīrēśa or Vīrabhadra was

consecrated in the temple on the summit of Mātaṅga hill by his minister, Lakkaṇṇa or Lakṣmaṇamantri who merits to be mentioned for his loyalty towards his master. He was the son of Rāmarasa and Siṅgale the sister of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava, the latter two were the ministers of the first two kings of Saṃgama dynasty says the inscription. Further, it relates an important incident. A conspiracy was hatched to take the king's life. The plot misfired when the farsighted minister Lakṣmaṇa or Lakkaṇa took the miscreants by surprise and saved his master's life (svāmikārya).[1] Also the same inscription records further that a temple to Heraṃba (Ganēśa) at the foot of Mālyavanta hill was built at his command. Though now the temple is not there the statue carved on a rock is there in the open air as a testimony to this fact recorded in the inscription.

King Dēvarāya lived till A.D. 1422 and probably passed away on 2, August 1422. (E.C. VIII, Tirthahalli 14; E C-IV, Gundlupet 24). Vijayarāya also called Vijaya Bukkarāya, one of the four sons of the late king, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1422. As his regnal period was too short there is nothing much to write about him. Sewell says that the king was lazy but on what basis does he say so? The king is highly praised in the inscriptions issued during his life time as well as posthumously. One of them says that tears of goddess Sarasvati caused due to the death of Bhoja were wiped out by king Vijayarāya who was a man of letters[2]. In another copper plate chart it is said that he was an incarnation of Bhoja himself (A.R.M.A.D. 1916, para 100). Such a king Vijayarāya left this world in 25, January A.D. 1425, and the royal throne to his son Dēvarāya II.

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1. S. I. I. IV. no. 267.
2. A.R.M.A.D. 1912, para 104 p. 89, reprint: Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Dēvarāya II (A.D. 1425-1446): This is an augustan age of the Karnāṭaka empire. The glory of the kingdom was at its zenith. Abundance of documents help to paint a fascinating pen picture of this glorious period.

The king has been called Immaḍi Dēvarāya i.e. Dēvarāya II, Prauḍha Dēvarāya, Pratāpa Dēvarāya etc. Some historians of yester years like Hayavadan Rao and others thought that Pratāparāya and Prauḍharāya were two different kings. Some contemporary scholars have argued against this theory. In our opinion, the latter are nearer to the truth. The problem appears absurd: how two kings of the same name could sit on the same throne to rule over the same empire at the same time[1]?.

Apart from usual titles such as Mahārājādhirāja etc the king had one more significant title "Gajabēṇṭekāra" one who hunts elephants.

The most important event of Dēvarāya II's rule is the planning of the capital[2]. The king desired to have such a town planning for his capital that it should remain as a "model town" as long as the sun, moon and stars shine in the sky. The architects of town-planning set to work. Lakkana writes 'to level the roads, stones and boulders were crushed and reduced to pulp and powder as does the king with the heads of the enemies'. Long and large roads with three or four entrances were laid in the heavy traffic wards of the capital. On vehicle free roads were erected

1. It needs to be discussed in length and breadth. Owing to space limitation we are obliged to leave the matter here. See Hayavadanarao's interesting article on this topic in Mysore Gazetteer.

2. Lakkaṇṇadaṇḍēśa: *Śivatattvacintāmaṇi*, ed. Vidvān and Pandita S. Basavappa, Manasagangotri, Mysore, sandhi 38. Strophes 250 onwards. Also see V. Filliozat, Town-planning of Vijayanagra in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, London, 1979, no. 14.

gates with single entries with platforms on either sides where fruits and drinks were at the disposal of pedestrains. These gates were called "Kallubāgilu" stone door or "kallupparigebāgilu" storied stone gate and this is one of the architectural features of Saṅgama dynasty. Such gates are seen not only in Hampi but elsewhere also viz. at Citradurga etc.

The Virūpākṣa temple received greater attention from the ruler. An enclosure wall was built enclosing the main shrine of Virūpākṣa along with those of his consorts and a few minor shrines to the north. Lakkana further writes, four stone-gates[1] on four directions were built in the style of gates mentioned above. Facing the temple to the east, a long and large avenue with galleries on either side was laid for the festivities and processions of gods. Pilgrims were housed in the galleries during festivals. Even the king had his own apartment to rest while he would go to render homage to God Virūpākṣa. As many as three temple chariots (ratha) were drawn by the devotees on this avenue. So, the road was rightly called "rathavīthi"[2] chariot

1. Out of the four gates the eastern one was renovated and modified and came to be called "Hiriya gōpura" in the days of king Kṛṣṇrāya. Then southern gate was condemned due to the addition of inner prākāra wall with "Rāyagōpura" to the east by the same king in 1510. As the western gate was also condemned after the addition of this inner prakara wall so it was transformed into a shrine by the king Acyutarāya to house two *linga*-s in the name of his father and mother (see the unpublished inscription in the temple). Only the northern gate leading to the river has remained as it was.

2. Following Sewell and other European historians most of the modern Indian scholars use the term "bazaar" for this avenue. But, "rathavīthi (Sk) and rathabīdi (Kan) are the terms used in inscriptions and in literature. One should know that bazaar is a market place whereas rathabidi is for religious purposes.

street. Another fort wall was built around Hemakūṭa hill to encircle the remaining group of temples on the hill. Thus the single entity of Hēmakūṭa was divided and made into two units: one was Virūpākṣa temple with a few secondary shrines around; the second Hemakūṭa hill with two gates, one to the east and one to the south while the northern one was common to both Hemakūṭa and Virūpākṣa.

Many foreign travellers visited the capital and have left their accounts. Nicolo dei Conti from Italy, Nikitin from Russia and Abdur Razak an ambassador from Persia are a few. By the by, Abdur Razak mentions an incident while he was still in the South. An attempt was made on Devarāya II's life and how the traitors were put to punishments when the king escaped from the danger. Nuniz also relates the same event but an inscription contradicts this fact and says that the king was suffering from heart disease and for his well being a brahmin was sent on a pilgrimate to Gayā and other holy places on river banks to perform rituals as per vedic texts. As there was much improvement in king's health after this pious act the brahmin was highly honoured on his return and a village was given to him after making it an agrahāra[1]. This village still exists and the descendants of this brahmin are still in possession of this grant.

King Dēvaraya II passed away in 1446. His reign is praised as one of the most successful and brilliant. There was peace and order. Literary activities were never so flourishing as at this time. It is considered as an augustan age for Kannaḍa literature specially for that of Śivaites. Vacanas composed by Śaiva devotees in the twelfth century were codified and classified according to the Ṣaṭsthalmārga under the general title *Śūnya-sampādane* "acquisition of vacuity". *Liṅgalīlāvilāsa* by Kallumaṭhada

1. E.C. (N. Series) IX, Belur no. 576. (in old series of E.C. XV, B1, 305).

Pabhudēva is a commentary on the vacanas with reference to āgama literature specially *Vātulaśuddhāgama* (i.e. Liṅgamūrtisthala, p. 20 ff.) and other Śaiva treatises. Gubbi Mallaṇārya is another laureate worth mentioning for his lengthy commentary with meanings to each and every word for *Vātulaśuddhāgama*[1]. *"Śivatattvaciṃtāmaṇi"* by Lakkaṇṇadaṃḍēśa is another work which deals mainly with the importance of devotion to Śiva. He is also much influenced by *Vātulaśuddhāgama*. Lakkaṇṇa the author of this work was a minister of Dēvarāya II and grandson of minister Lakkaṇṇa or Lakṣmaṇa who was in the service of Dēvarāya I[2]. Tamil poet Aruṇagirnāthar author of *Tiruppugaḷ* also lived during this period. Śrīnātha a Telugu poet laureate also adorned the court of the king. On the political scene this is the time when a decisive role was played by Sāḷuva Narasiṃha minister of the king.

History of the Karnāṭaka empire is not so bright after the death of Dēvarāya II. Mallikārjuna also called Immaḍi Prauḍharāya or Prauḍharāya II succeeded his father in A.D. 1446. As it happens often, if the predecessor is too puissant and the kingdom is at its apogee, then the sons or successors fail to maintain the standard and the empire begins to decline. The evening days of the Kamāṭaka empire began with the accession of Mallikārjuna to the throne. Besides, he was an intellectual with greater inclination for arts and literature than for the sword. Kallinātha, commentator of Śāṅgadeva's *Saṅgītaratnākara* was in his court. It seems that a kāvya in Kannaḍa on

1. This āgama is much used by Liṅgāyats or Vīraśaivas of Kamāṭaka now.
2. I have proved it in an article "Lakṣmaṇamantri and Lakkaṇṇadaṇḍēsa" in *Archaeological Studies, University of Mysore*, vol. III, 1978.

erotism entitled *Janavaśya or Mallikārjunavijaya* was first told by the king to his queen and then a poet wrote it. His chauri bearer Śirańgu[1] had a small temple built, probably, for God Rańganātha at one of the main fort gates of the capital.

While the king was engaged in such cultural activities Bahamanis and the sovereigns of Orissa started nibbling at the Karnāṭaka empire's territories. Once again chaotic conditions began to prevail. In the midst of this arose Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, possessing unrivalled diplomatic skills. Mallikārjuna was succeeded by his brother Virūpākṣa but the situation remained the same. Sensing the danger knocking at the doors of the empire Sāḷuva Narasiṃha took all powers in his hands. Nuniz recounts a story how the last king was murdered due to conspiracy by Sāḷuva Narasiṃha. As there are no other documents to substantiate his statement we will leave the question here and proceed further to examine the situation after the death of Virūpākṣa in 1485. By now all powers of the empire were vested in the hands of Sāḷuva Narasimha and this marks the end of Saṃgama and the beginning of Sāḷuva dynasty.

Sāḷuvas (A.D. 1485 to 1503-1505):

Sāḷuva Narasiṃha I (A.D. 1485-1495): (Sāluva or Sāḷva or Sāḷuva are different orthographs used in the inscriptions.) The unpublished historical kāvya entitled "Sāluvābhyudaya" describes Sāluva Narasiṃha's achievements. Basing their arguments on a statement made by Nuniz modern historians accuse Sāluva Narasiṃha as the "Usurper". But, kāvya presents a different image of him.

1. In *Prof. Desai Felicitation* Vol. This gate is known as Hanumān's gate due to the statue of the god in the shrine in the fortgate. No image of Rańganātha is available now.

Narasimha's actions are justified because the safety of the empire was at stake. So, a far-sighted administrator of his quality and calibre was necessary. Like his predecessors, namely Sāḷuva Mamgu at the time of liberation of Madurai, Sāḷuva Guṇḍa royal servant of Harihara II, he was also devoted to his rulers and doted with a sense of duty. He made many grants for the merit of his masters. But when the situation was going beyond control due to the weakness of the kings he took all powers in his hands. His accession to the throne was gradual and progressive like that of first rulers Saṃgama dynasty. Also, on assuming the powers, he followed their example and bore the humble title "mahāmaṃḍalēśvara". He never ruled over the kingdom but administered it, says an inscription.

Before he came to power, many territories of the empire were lost to the king of Orissa who swallowed Udayagiri and some eastern parts whereas in the south Pāṇḍya king Bhuvanaikavīra tried to grab Kāñcipuraṁ and failed. Sāḷuva Narasiṃha died leaving a testament praying his successors to regain the lost territories of the Karnāṭaka empire.

Sāḷuva Narasiṃha II (1496-1505) : In the year A.D.1496 Sāluva Narasiṃha II succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Sāḷuva Narasimha I in A.D. 1495. But he was not gifted with his father's diplomatic qualities. Soon the fortunes of the empire began to dwindle down. However, at this critical time came Tuḷuva Narasiṃha who was already in the service of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha I. On noticing the weakness of the king, Tuluva Narasiṃha also known as Narasaṇa nāyaka gradually began to vest powers in his hands. He became so important that in one of the inscriptions he is designated as partner and the agent of the king (ARSIE 1915, no. 143). Forays continued in the

empire especially those by the king of Orissa. Many regions of the empire were in difficulties. Once again anarchy began to raise its head. In A.D. 1503 Tuluva Narasiṃha breathed his last. His son Bhujabala Narasiṃha; also called Immaḍi Narasiṃha occupied the vacant place of his father. So, now both the king and the minister had the same name i.e. Immadi Narasimha or Narasiṃha II.

Tuḷuva (A.D. 1503-1505 to A.D. 1565-80)

The real history of the dynasty begins with the accession of Bhujabala Narasiṃha. King Sāluva Narasiṃha II passed away in A.D. 1505. Most probably, the former did not have any issue of his own to succeed. So Bhujabala Narasiṃha ascended.

Nuniz mentions some stories about conspiracies, treacheries etc. to assassinate the king. This could be because Nuniz must have got confused as all three of them, the king, father and the son were called Narasimha. However, neither in inscriptions nor in literary works such stories are related. So, it is better to examine the historical facts.

Bhujabal Narasiṃha (A.D. 1505-1509). Nuniz calls him Bhusbalrao. Historians call him Vira Narasimha. Inscriptions say that Tuluva Narasanāyaka the father had three wives like king Daśaratha. Like the epic king, Narasimha also had four sons, Bhujabala Narasiṃha, Kṛṣṇarāya, Acyutarāya and Raṅgarāya. Narasiṃha was the eldest of all and no sooner he sat on the throne than he noticed the threat to the empire from all directions and the capacity of his younger brother Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to master the situation. So, to save the kingdom from the peril, according to *Rāyavācakamu*, the king abdicated the throne in favour of Kṛṣṇarāya his younger and half brother. However, it is quite probable that Bhujabalarāya continued to take part in

political affairs for a while even when his brother came to the throne.

Kṛṣṇarāya or Kṛṣṇadēvarāya (A.D. 1509-1529). was the half brother of Bhujabalarāya and the son of Nāgalādēvi second wife Narasānāyaka. The was a man of conquests and buildings. In A.D. 1509 to commemorate his accession to the throne a *mahāraṅgamaṇṭapa* and *rāyagopura* were added to the royal temple complex of Virūpākṣa at Haṃpi. Immediately after he embarked on an expedition to subdue Gajapati kings of Orissa, sworn enemy of Karnāṭaka empire. On his way to Orissa Udayagiri, Koṇḍavīdu, Koṇḍapalli etc. were subjugated. In 1513 or 1515, probably the statue for the procession "utsavamūrti" of "Bālakṛṣṇa" baby Kṛṣṇa was brought from Udayagiri and installed in "maṇimaṇṭapa"[1] in the Kṛṣṇa temple complex in Vijayanagara (S.I.I. IV nos 254-255). In commemoration of his roaring victory over the Gajapatis of Orissa Kṛṣṇarāya made lavish donations to many main temples in his empire namely Viṭhala in the capital, Veṇkaṭeśvara at Tirupati, Kāḷahatīsvara at Kāḷahasti and so on. Almost all the important temples in the South were provided with an imposing entrance now called "Rāyagopura" royal tower. Besides, either a hundred or a thousand pillared maṇḍapa or pavilion[2] were added to the temple complexes. Most of the small temples in the capital were renovated and

1. According to āgamas Maṇimaṇṭapa is built in the space between the gopura and the mahārangamaṇṭapa of the temple yard.
2. A maṇṭapa with hundred pillars was built in the Viṭhala temple at Haṃpi-Vijayanagara. See V. and P.S. filliozat, *Vijayanagara and Viṭhala temple*, 1988, p. 51-52; *S I I* IX, pt.ii, Nos. 502 and vol. XV, No. 56. Starting from Aruṇācalēśvara at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in Tamilnāḍu almost all the temples were enriched with a monumental gopura and a thousand pillared hall. And, each monument has a long inscription attesting the event.

enlarged with an additional architectural element "antarāla" or ante-chamber connecting the śukanāsi and ramgamaṇḍapa[1].

After his victory over Gajapatis, king Kṛṣṇarāya turned his attention to the lost areas between the two rivers Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā precisely between Raicūr and Mudgal. A graphic description of the battle with much bloodshed between the hindu king and Ismail Ādil Shah of Bijapur[2] is given by Nuniz in his own characteristic style. Forts and territories which were lost earlier were reconquered by Kṛṣṇarāya. The Sultan of Bijapur took to his heels to seek shelter somewhere.

Following the split in the Bahamani empire Bidar became independent and came under the control of Barid Shahi. The heir apparent of the main branch i.e. Bahamani was in danger of dethronement. After his victory over Ādil Shah, king Kṛṣṇarāya helped Bahamani prince to succeed to the throne. Following this event the king assumed the title "Yavanarāyasthāpanācārya" establisher of Yavana (muslim) king.

The epoch of Kṛṣṇarāya is the most brilliant period in the history of Karnāṭaka empire. Literature, music,

1. Modern historians are of the tendency to use "ardha-maṇḍapa and mukhamaṇḍapa" to designate rangamaṇṭapa and mahamaṇṭapa of Vijayanagara temples. In my opinion these terms are valid for temples in Tamilnāḍu and are inappropriate for Kamāṭaka temples. Because "antarāla, raṅgamaṇṭapa and mahāmaṇṭapa" are the terms which occur in the inscriptions of this period and structurally they differ in style from that of Tamilnadu monuments.
2. Following internal troubles the Bahamani kingdom was split into five Shahi kingdoms amongst which Ādil Shahis were most puissant. The region between Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā known as "Doab area" was under Adil Sahi till its conquest by the king of Kamāṭaka empire. The influence of the Vijayanagara style of architecture can be seen on some of the fort gates of Raicūr.

dance, drama, temple architecture flourished. It was a golden age for Telugu literature. Many poet laureates of Telugu, such as Allasani Peddaṇa, Mūku Tiṃmaṇa, Tnnāli Rāmakriṣṇa contributed for the *renommée* of the royal court.

Vyāsarāya the famous Mādhva philosopher was the royal preceptor of Kṛṣṇarāya and under whose grace Vaiṣṇavism came to flourish. Temples of Viṭhala, Kṛṣṇa, Narasiṃha and Hanumān[1] received much attention of the king and other courtiers in the capital city. Viṭhala temple which was just a small shrine in the days of Saṇgama period began to rise in importance in the days of Sāḷuvas when the royal preceptor Śrīpādarāya went there to worship God Viṭhala. Vyāsarāya, the successor of Śrīpādarāya built a shrine to God "Yogavaradanarasiṃhamūrti" in the Viṭhala temple complex. Hampi continued to be a residential place of Dvaita (Mādhva) philosophers and many resided around this temple area then known as Viṭhala[2].

Another historical personage worth mentioning is Purandaradāsa, a polar star in Haridasa bhakti movement. Influenced and inspired by Vyāsarāya's preachings Purandaradāsa and other fellow devotees gave an impetus to bhakti movement and devotion to Vaiṣṇava gods. Viṭhala was their god followed by Kṛṣṇa, Narasiṃha and so on. As an expression of their devotion to Viṣṇu/Viṭhala

1. During Kṛṣṇarāya's regnal period one particular day was considered as too inauspicious for the king to be on throne. So, to ward off the effects of the evil conjecture of stars, Vyāsarāya his guru sat on the throne and became king for a day. On that day he issued an order for the construction of five hundred shrines to Hanumān in the royal capital itself because for Mādhvās their founder guru Madhvācārya is an incarnation of Hanumān.
2. S I I vol. IX, pt. ii. No. 668. Also V. & P.S. Filliozat ibid., p. 19, 77.

poems were composed, set to music and rhythm. Many Haridāsa saints were exceptionally able exponents of music so much so that Purandaradāsa, the doyen of the movement, is believed to be an avatār of Nārada the celestial musician in god Viṣṇu's court. A new genre of poetry called "kṛti, kīrtane" attained much popularity due to Purandaradāsa's compositions and those of his contemporaries.

However, this mode of kīrtane composition was already in practice amongst the Śaiva saints (Śivaśaraṇas who composed mostly *vacana*-s) of twelfth century who later came to be known as Vīraśaiva-s. Owing to the success of *vacana*-s, their kīrtane-s did not receive much attention. Besides, other saints like Aṇṇamācārya at Tirupati in the fifteenth century and Mādhva saints like Naraharitīrtha, Srīpādarāya etc. have composed kīrtanas. But, nobody gave a boost to this genre of poetry like Purandaradāsa who not only composed but rendered them to music. Local belief is that Purandaradāsa would sing his compositions in the temple of Viṭhala and sometimes, in the ecstasy of devotion to God he would dance also. This is not a mere legend. The influence of his compositions on the sculptures and bas-reliefs in Viṭhala temple at Haṃpi lends credence to this local belief. His style of singing achieved an unprecedented success and become famous later as "Karnātaki music". Is was and is customary to name any style of music or dance by the region from where it originated. This style of music came to be called as Karnātaki after the name of the empire, Karnāṭaka. The real Karnāṭaki style of music developed[1] in the sixteenth century when

1. Karnāṭaki style had not ceased to expand. It also gives tributes to Purandaradāsa by calling him "father of Karnāṭaki" music.

Karnāṭakasiṃhāsanādhīśvara Kṛṣṇarāya was ruling the kingdom.

Kṛṣṇarāya had two principal queens besides many others. Only queen Tirumalā gave birth to a child in whose honour was begun a temple dedicated to god Anantaśayana/Viṣṇu by the king in A.D. 1518. (ARSIE 1923, App. B. no. 683). In A.D. 1524, a six years old boy ascended the throne because the king wanted to see his son and successor in his place. Festivities, celebrations of his enthronement continued for six months. The tender age of the child did not permit him to stand the fatigue of the festivities and poor prince breathed his last hardly six months after his accession to the throne.

Once again Nuniz tells a story that the prince was poisoned by the king's dearest minister Timma and his family. But, how far Nuniz's story is credible is questionable because many inscriptions mention the grants made by Timma and his family members after A.D. 1524 (S I I. IX, pt ii. nos. 518, 529). However, the king did not seem to be very happy in his last days. He could not get over the shock of untimely death of his darling prince. Also advancing age and illness contributed their own to the King's distres. Kṛṣṇarāya died in A.D. 1529 and was succeeded by his half brother Acyutarāya.

During Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's time the empire touched three oceans in three directions namely to the east, west and south; and river Kṛṣṇā lined the northern border. In the capital city itself, to the north of the main town, south of Virupaksa was formed Kṛṣṇāpura following his victory over Udayagiri and installation of the statue of god Kṛṣṇa. Viṭhalāpura received much attention of the king. The capital was extended with an addition of three suburbs namely Nāgalāpura, Timmalāpura and Sale Tirumalarāyana paṭṭaṇa in the name of his mother Nāgalādēvi, his

principal queen Tirumalādēvi and his son Tirumalarāya respectively.

Acyutarāya (A.D. 1529-1542): was the son of Narasanāyaka, and his third wife Obāmbā. He was born after Nāyaka's return from pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram, as per the information recounted in the kāvya entitled *Acyutābhyudaya* by one of the Diṇḍima poets. Acyutarāya inherited a vast and wealthy kingdom left by his half brother Kṛṣṇarāya. It is quite probable that Acyutarāya was either not as qualified as his predecessor or had more inclination for the arts. Taking into consideration the number of constructions and their vastness the latter possibility seems nearer the truth.

Depending on Nuniz's statement Sewell said that the king was given much to vice. But, epigraphs prove that the king was inclined towards rich artistic activities. He himself was a musician and had a special Vīṇā called Acyutabhūpāliviṇā[1]. One more suburb was added to the capital city by the king in the name of his queen Varadāmbikā and the town was called 'Varadajammanapaṭṭaṇa"[2] where he had temples built for God Rāmacandra. The credit of creating a new quarter called Acyutāpura with Acyutāpēṭe around Tiruveṅgalanātha temple to the north in the capital goes to his brother-in-law Salaka Timmarāja (*S I I* IX, pt. ii. No. 564). Bayakāra Rāmappa or Rāmayamātya, the author of *Svaramelakalānidhi* was responsible for the formation of a new *borough* called Timmalāpura with three or four temples and sixteen tanks with trees around them. (*S I I* IX, pt. ii, nos. 660). Tirumalāmbā, his court reader

1. See Rāmayamātya's *Svaramelakālanidhi.*
2. *S I I* IX, pt.ii. no. 561 Mentions "Lakṣa homa" made by the king in Varadājammanapaṭṭaṇa. P.S. & V. filliozat, *Hampi-Vijayanagar*, p. 13.

became the second queen of Acyutarāya. And being a poetess, she wrote a *kāvya Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* which describes the marriage of her lord with the principal queen Varadāmbikā. The king made lavish donations to many temples in the capital and in the empire. Also he had his philanthropic deeds inscribed on stones wherever it was necessary and possible.

It is but natural for such a king with high taste for artistic activities not to have inclinations to hold the sword. However, he won a few battles that he fought against the sultans of Deccan. Vyāsarāya, the Mādhva philosopher who continued to be his preceptor died in A.D. 1539. The vacant place of the saint was occupied by Śrivaiṣṇava ācāryā-s from Tamilnāḍu. This is the beginning of Tamil culture through Telugu in Karnāṭaka. The king died in 1542 and was succeeded by his son Venkaṭarāya who did not even survive for more than six months. So, Acyutarāya's nephew Sadāśivarāya succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1542.

Sadāśivarāya A.D.. 1542-1565-1580): was the son of Raṅgarāya of brother Acyutarāya, and the grandson of Tuluva Narasānāyaka. Circumstances were beneficial to Rāmarāya, more known as Aḷiya Rāmarāya to handle the administration. Being the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇarāya the great, Rāmarāya inspired respect and obedience in the realm. Modern historians accuse him of nepotism by saying that to be safe on the saddle he appointed his kith and kin to high posts. To a certain extent inscriptions support the statement.

Aḷiya Rāmarāya belonged to the family of Āraviḍu in Āndhra. The predomination of Telugu culture during this time was due to Rāmarāya, who himself was a Telugu. Tirupati, the most important Śrīvaiṣṇava centre in Āndhra, had connections with other Śrivaiṣṇava centres of

Tamilnāḍu. As temporal and royal priestly positions were vested in the hands of Śrivaiṣṇava ācārya-s, consequently the whole of Karnāṭaka empire came under the spell of Tamil culture. No wonder the Tamil festivals and ceremonies were introduced in Vaiṣṇava temples i.e. Viṭhala; Kṛṣṇa, Rāma etc. Specially Viṭhala temple received special attention from Āravīḍu family and became, both artistically and materially, one of the richest religious centres in the capital. It was during this time, in A.D. 1554, that the maṇḍapa with musical colonettes was added to the main shrine for the dolotsava[1] or swing festivals of god Viṭhala. This maṇḍapa considered to be the "gem" of Karnāṭaka architecture is a significant contribution to the Indian architecture. Later this style of architecture was adopted in the construction of maṇṭapa-s at Madurai, Sucīndram and other temples but they cannot hold a flame to the charm and musicality of the pillars in Viṭhala temple at Hampi.[2]

Inscriptions in Viṭhalāpura reflect very well the pompous life led by the temple authorities and residents of the quarter in the years between A.D. 1555 and 1565. For pomp and opulence in the capital no other record is necessary when inscriptions inform that in this temple

1. *SII*.IX, pt. ii. no. 653. P.S. & V. Filliozat, *Hampi-Vijayanagar*, p. 72-75.
2. The late Dr Wasant Kawali, a station director of All India Radio Bhadravati, had produced a program on the musical quality of the colonnettes of Vithala temple at Hampi According to him a gifted musician can play a few musical scales by tapping gently with fingers on these colonnettes.
After his broadcasting of "Śilātaraṃga" the feature on musical pillars of Viṭhala temple at Haṃpi from A I R, Bangalore, decision was taken by A S I to post two attendants round the clock to guard the monument and play with fingers on pillars for the visitors. Till then the attendants were using a small stick provided to them.

alone more than hundred and fifty festivals were celebrated in a year. Simultaneously, all other temples were enriched and festivities increased. Śrivaiṣṇavism was at the summit of its glory. To counter balance the weight of Śrivaiṣṇava power, probably, at this time the legends regarding the foundation of so-called "new empire", the capital, goddess showering gold upon Vidyāraṇya etc. might have come to light to enhance the eminence of Śṛṃgēri and Śaivism. The *Virūpākṣavasantotsavacampū*[2] a literary work of this period, gives some hints in this connection.

Pomp and festivities led the king to levy heavy taxes and that created uneasiness in the society. Besides, the rulers of five Shahi kingdoms of Deccan became too jealous of the prosperity of the Karnāṭaka empire. So they made a plot to attack the king of Karnāṭaka empire. Being too old to realise the gravity of the situation, Aliya Rāmarāya did not take the challenge too serious possibly in the belief that as he had helped the Shahis in their difficult days, particularly the sultan of Bijapur, they would not make it.

Banking on the past the nonagenarian Rāmarāya, with his two brothers Tirumala and Veṅkaṭa and with all his relatives, led a big army to the battlefield near Tālikoṭā

1. While describing the car festival, Campū mentions that there were two temple cars (ratha) and sage Vidyāraṇya was in one of them. When people reached the inner gopura the car was near the main gopura. Whereas the inscriptions record that the main gopura was built by Dēvarāya II and was renovated and repaired by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Also the latter built the Rāyagopura which is an inner gopura. So, contents of the Kāvya do not tally with the facts recorded in the inscriptions. See V. Filliozat, "Contents of the Kāvya contradicted by inscriptions" in *Sternbach Felicitation Voalume*.

or Rakkasagi Taṅgaḍagi in A.D. 1565. His army consisted of both hindus and muslims. As luck would have it, Rāmarāya's elephant succumbed to its injuries and so the old hero jumped on a nearby horse to continue the fight heroically. But, seeing his empty elephant other warriors of his camp took to their heels thinking that their hero was no more alive. This unfortunate misunderstanding in the battlefield provided an ideal opportunity for the enemies to imprison and behead Rāmarāya. After this execution the victorious army entered the capital city Vijayanagar and plundered it. As the Shahi sultans hated Rāmarāya, they wished to wipe off all traces of his name. As monuments are the best records and represent their ratron they fell to the enemies wrath. Rāmarāya was a great devotee of Viṣṇu and particularly of Viṭhala at Hampi. So Viṭhala temple along with other monuments fell first victim to the foes.

Herculian efforts were made to pull down the temple of Viṭhala in Vijayanagar city which was so dear to Aḷiya Rāmarāya. But, the solidity of the shrine was such that the victorious adversaries were vanquished in their attempt to raze it. Outraged army, in a fit of fury, placed huge tree trunks on the central path of the shrine leading up to the sanctum sanctorum and set them ablaze. Granite stones, though solid, are too fragile to withstand the excessive heat of the fire. Consequently, gigantic stone pillars which were supporting the most artistic ceiling hewn in heavy cyclopean boulders succumbed to the violence of fire leaving the central part of the shrine open to the sky. This gap and the emptiness of the sanctum misled many modern historians, specially the British pioneers, to arrive at a wrong conclusion i.e. that the temple was never complete and there was no worship in it. Some

Marāṭhi poetical works of 17th, 18th centuries are there to nourish their views. But, the inscriptions engraved on the temple walls are the most authentic sources for history. These inscriptions provide much information on the cult and culture prevalent in the Viṭhala temple and help the historians to arrive at wiser conclusions. Along with the temple of Viṭhala, Tiruvengaḍanātha temple in Acyutāpura also met with the same fate.

Discordance amongst allies over the control of Vijayanagar made them leave it in a half ruined state after many months of plundering. Once enemies left the capital Tirumala the last surviving brother of Aḷiya Rāmarāya, and king Sadāśivarāya returned to the capital to revive it to its lost and past glory. Cesare Federici a Venetian voyager who was in the capital in A.D. 1567 draws a desolate picture of the town. A letter in Portuguese informs that the dispute for the throne between Sadāśivarāya and Tirumala wrought further degradation in state of affairs. In a fit of fury, they set ablaze each other's palaces and abandoned the capital forever[1]. Thus, the incomplete devastation work of enemies was completed by the Hindu-s themselves and the glorious capital, whose fame spread far and wide, remained at the mercy of ferocious beasts, reptiles, treasure seekers and brigands. Neither the empire nor the capital could recover from this blow. What was fallen in 1565 was not "The empire of Vijayanagar" but it was the "Empire of Karnāṭaka". Not only the empire but also the present state of Karnāṭaka lost its status. At the time of state reorganisation in 1955 Karnāṭaka state which was torn into twenty pieces was reunified and came to be called "Mysore state". It had to wait till 1975 to get back its age old

1. *Monumenta Xaveriana*, vol. I. p. 61–62.

original name and once again to be called Karnāṭaka. But it is not the same Karnāṭaka as the Karnāṭaka Empire of bygone days with its capital Vijayanagara.

CHRONICLES OF PAES AND NUNIZ

LETTER

(? To The Historian Barros) Which Accompanied The Chronicles When Sent From India To Portugal About The Year 1537 A.D.

Since I have lived till now in this city (? Goa), it seemed necessary to do what your Honour desired of me, namely, to search for men who had formerly been in Bisnaga; for I know that no one goes there without bringing away his quire of paper written about its affairs. Thus I obtained this summary from one Domingos Paes, who goes there, and who was at Bisnaga in the time of Crisnarao when Cristovao de Figueiredo was there. I obtained another from Fernao Nuniz, who was there three years trading in horses (which did not prove remunerative). Since one man cannot tell everything—one relating some things which another does not—I send both the summaries made by them, namely, one in the time of Crisnarao, as I have said, and the other sent from there six months since.[1] I desire to do this

1. A copy of the chronicle is available in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The text starts with the account of Nuniz and at the end of it above mentioned letter has been inserted by the copyist giving the reason for addition of another chronicle. Sewell who brought out the first English translation of these two chronicles along with an introduction to the history of the empire in his work "*The Forgotten Empire*" thought that the chronicles were copied, probably in 1537 for Barros the Portuguese historian. In the original there is no indication of date., nor for whom it was copied. According to Prof.

because your honour can gather what is useful to you from both, and because you will thus give the more credit to some things in the chronicle of the kings of Bisnaga, since they conform one to the other. The copy of the summary which he began to make when he first went to the kingdom of Bisnaga is as follows:

Rouch's French translation "I obtained another from Fernao Nuniz who spent three years there with horses for which he was badly paid.

"Since one man cannot.....and whereas the other one, which was sent to me from there six months ago." And, further Prof. Rouch adds in foot-note letter of the corespondent in Goa to a chronicler in Lisbon concerning the origin of the two manuscripts". There is neither the indication of date nor the addressee. It is all Sewell's guess work.

NARRATIVE OF DOMINGO PAES

(WRITTEN PROBABLY IN A.D. 1520-22)

Of The Things Which I Saw And Contrived To Learn Concerning The Kingdom Of Narsimga, Etc

On leaving India to travel towards the kingdom of Narsymga from the sea-coast, you have (first) to pass a range of hills (*serra*[1]), the boundary of the said kingdom and of those territories which are by the sea. This serra runs along the whole of the coast of India, and has passes by which people enter the interior; for all the rest of the range is very rocky and is filled with thick forest. The said kingdom has many places on the coast of India; they are seaports with which we are at peace, and in some of them we have factories, namely, Ancola Mirgeo, Honor, Batecalla, Mamgalor, Bracalor and Bacanor[2]. And as soon as we are above this serra, we have a plain country in which there are no more ranges of hills, but only a few mountains, and these small ones; for all the rest is like the plains of Ssantarem *(in Portugal)*. Only on the road from Batecala to a town called Zambuja[3], there are some ranges with forests; nevertheless the road is very even. From Batecala to this town of Zambur is forty leagues; the road has many streams of water by its side, and because of this so much

1. Serra to be taken in the sense of range of hills.
2. Mirgeo Mirjan; Honour-Honnavar; Batecalla-Bhaṭṭakal; Maṃgalor-Mangalore or Maṃgaḷūru; Bracalor-Bārkūru; Bacanor-Basrūr; all these places are on the west-coast of Karnāṭaka.
3. Zambur and Zambuja are same as Jaṃbūru in North-Kanara.

merchandise flows to Batecala that every year there come five or six thousand pack-oxen.

Now to tell of the aforesaid kingdom. It is a country sparsely wooded except along this serra on the east,[1] but in places you walk for two or three leagues under groves of trees; and behind cities and towns and villages they have plantations of mangoes, and jack-fruit trees, and tamarinds and other very large trees, which form resting-places where merchants halt with their merchandise. I saw in the city of Recalem a tree under which we lodged three hundred and twenty horses, standing in order as in their stables, and all over the country you may see many small trees. These dominions are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian corn, grains[2], beans, and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton. Of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley; and this country has also much wheat, and that good. The whole country is thickly populated with cities and towns and villages, the king allows them to be surrounded only with earthen walls for fear of their becoming too strong. But if a city is situated at the extremity of his territory he gives his consent to its having stone walls, but never the towns; so that they may make fortresses of the cities but not of the towns.

1. *That is on the east of Portuguese India, west of the territory of Vijayanagar, (Sewell, p.230 n. 2.)*
2. Probably the jowar and other varieties of millets which were unknown to the Portuguese.

And because this country is all flat, the winds blow here more than in other parts. The oil which it produces comes from seeds sown and afterwards reaped, and they obtain it by means of machines which they make. This country wants water because it is very great and has few streams; they make lakes in which water collects when it rains, and thereby they maintain themselves. They maintain themselves by means of some in which there are springs better than by others that have only the water from rain; for we find many quite dry, so that people go about walking in their beds, and dig holes to try and find enough water, even a little, for their maintenance. The failure of the water is because they have no winter[1], as in our parts and in (Portuguese) India, but only thunder-storms that are greater in one year than in another. The water in these lakes is for the most part muddy, especially in those where there are no springs, and the reason why it is so muddy is because of the strong wind and the dust that is in this country, which never allows the water to be clear; and also because of the numbers of cattle, buffaloes, cows, oxen and other small cattle that drink in them. For you must know that in this land they do not slaughter oxen or cows; the oxen are beasts of burden and are like sumpter-mules; these carry all their goods. They worship the cows, and have them in their pagodas made in stone, and also bulls; they have many bulls that they present to these pagodas, and these bulls go about the city without any one causing them any harm or loss. Further, there are asses in this country, but they are small, and they use them only for little things; those that wash[2] clothes lay the cloths on

1. Usually, it rains much in Europe during winter unlike in India.
2. Paes is fully right in his observation. By and large washermen use asses for their works, in Karnāṭaka.

them, and use them for this more than for anything else. You must know that this kingdom of Narsymga has three hundred graos of coast, each graos being a league, along the hill-range (serra) of which I have spoken, until you arrive at Ballagate and Charamãodel, which belong to this kingdom; and in breadth it is one hundred and sixty-four graos; each large grao measures two of our leagues so that it has six hundred leagues of coast, and across it three hundred and forty-eight leagues....across from Batacalla to the kingdom of Orya (Orissa).

And this kingdom marches[1] with all the territory of Bengal, and on the other side with the kingdom of Orya, which is to the east, and on the other side to the north with the kingdom of Dakhan, belonging to which are the lands which the Ydallcão Ãdil Khân has, and Ozemelluco Nizâm-ul-Mulk). Goa is at war with this Ydallcão, because that city was his, and we have taken it from him.

And this kingdom of Orya, of which I have spoken above, is said to be much larger than the kingdom of Narsymga, since it marches with all Bengal, and is at war with her; and it marches with all the kingdom of Pegu and with the Mallaca Sea. It reaches to the kingdom of Cambaya and to the kingdom of Dakhan; and they told me with positive certainty that it extends as far as Persia. The population thereof is light coloured, and the men are of good physique. Its king has much treasure and many soldiers and many elephants, for there are numbers of these in this country. (My informants) know this well, and they say that there is no ruler greater than he. He is a heathen.

1. Literal translation should be: this kingdom is delimited on one side by whole of Bemgalla (Bengal) and by the kingdom of Orya (Orissa) situated to the east.....

Coming back to our subject, I say that I will not mention here the situation of the cities, and towns, and villages in this kingdom of Narsymga, to avoid prolixity; only I shall speak of the city of Darcha[1], which has a monument such as can seldom be seen elsewhere. This city of Darcha is very well fortified by a wall, though not of stone, for the reason that I have already stated. On the western side, which is towards (Portuguese) India, it is surrounded by a very beautiful river, and on the other, eastern, side the interior of the country is all one plain, and along the wall is its moat. This Darcha has a pagoda, which is the monument I speak of, so beautiful that another as good of its kind could not be found within a great distance. You must know that it is a round temple made of a single stone[2], the gateway all in the manner of joiners' work, with every art of perspective. There are many figures of the said work, standing out as much as a cubit from the stone, so that you see on every side of them, so well carved that they could not be better done—the faces as well as all the rest; and each one in its place stands as if

1. Swell identifies the place with Dharwar but it is inacceptable. Because Paes is in North-Kanara. He is on his way to Vijayanagar from Goa via Honavar, Batkal etc. Since our chronicler gives a beautiful description of a temple of Gaṇeśa we venture to think that he speaks of the shrine of Gaṇeśa at Iḍagumji. Moreover, it was quite famous in those days. Or the place may be identified with Harihara also because Paes further states that Bisnaga is 18 leagues from Darcha. As one lague is equal to roughly two to four miles or thirty-six to seventy-four kilometres and the distance between Hampi and Harihar is roughly hundred kilometres. Hampi-Harihar road passes through the passage which Paes describes further. It appears to be more appropriate to identify the temple with Hariheśvara temple on the banks of Tungabhadrā at Harihar.

2. Read: single type of stone.

embowered in leaves; and above it is in the Romanesque[1] style, so well made that it could not be better. Besides this, it has a sort of lesser porch upon pillars, all of stone, and the pillars with their pedestals so well executed that they appear as if made in Italy; all the cross pieces and beams are of the same stone without any planks or timber being used in it, and in the same way all the ground is laid with the same stone, outside as well as in. And all this pagoda, as far round as the temple goes, is enclosed by a trellis made of the same stone, and this again is completely surrounded by a very strong wall, better even than the city has, since it is all of solid masonry. It has three entrance gates, which gates are very large and beautiful, and the entrance from one of these sides, being towards the east and facing the door of the pagoda, has some structures like verandahs, small and low, where sit some Jogis; and inside this enclosure, which has other little pagodas of a reddish colour, there is a stone like the mast of a ship, with its pedestal four-sided, and from thence to the top eight-sided, standing in the open air. I was not astonished at it, because I have seen the needle of St Peter's at Rome, which is as high, or more.

These pagodas are buildings in which they pray and have their idols; the idols are of many sorts, namely, figures of men and women, of bulls, and apes, while others have nothing but a round stone which they worship. In this temple of Darcha is an idol in the figure of a man as to his body, and the face is that of an elephant with trunk and tusks, and with three arms on each side and six hands, of

1. Sewell uses the term "Romanesque" whereas our friend Prof. M. Rouch says that the "maneira de romanisco" means in the style of "Romans" or "roman style". Further as Paes compares the monument with Italian works, Professor Rouch's suggestion sounds more suitable in this context.

which arms they say that already four are gone, and when all fall then the world will be destroyed; they are full of belief that this will be, and hold it as a prophecy. They feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats; and when he eats women dance before him who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all girls born of these women belong to the temple. These women are of loose character[1], and live in the best streets that there are in the city; it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses. They are very much esteemed and are classed amongst those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains; any respectable man may go their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women (are allowed) even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be. This betel is a herb which has a leaf like the leaf of the pepper, or the ivy of our country; they always eat this leaf, and carry it in their mouths with another fruit called areca. This is something like a medlar, but it is very hard, and it is very good for the breath and has many other virtues; it is the best provision for those who do not eat as we do. Some of them eat flesh; they eat all kinds except beef and pork, and yet, nevertheless, they cease not to eat this betel all day.

Afterwards, going from this city of Darcha towards the city of Bisnaga, *(Portuguese rendering of Vijayanagara, the city of victory)* which is eighteen leagues distant, and is the capital of all the kingdom of Narsymga, where the king

1. Sewell writes "women of loose character". But, actually Paes uses the term "solteyrar" which means "celibataire" or unmarried, as suggested by Prof. Rouch. These ladies were unmarried and as much respected in the society of those days, they should not be compared with present day prostitues.

always resides, you have many cities and walled villages; and two leagues before you arrive at the city of Bisnaga you have a very lofty serra which has passes by which you enter the city. These are called "gates" (portas). You must enter by these, for you will have no means of entrance except by them. This range of hills surrounds the city with a circle of twenty-four leagues, and within this range there are others that encircle it closely. Wherever these ranges have any level ground they cross it with a very strong wall, in such a way that the hills remain all closed, except in the places where the roads come through from the gates in the first range, which are the entrance ways to the city. In such places there are some small pits[1] (or caves?) which could be defended by a few people; these serras continue as far as the interior of the city. Between all these enclosures are plains and valleys where rice is grown, and there are gardens with many orange-trees, limes, citrons, and radishes (rabãos;), and other kinds of garden produce as in Portugal, only not lettuces or cabbages. Between these hill-ranges are many lakes by which they irrigate the crops mentioned, and amongst all these ranges there are no forests or patches of brushwood, except very small ones, nor anything that is green. For these hills are the strangest ever seen, they are of a white stone piled one block over another in manner most singular, so that it seems as if they stood in the air and were not connected one with another; and the city is situated in the middle of these hills and is entirely surrounded by them.

The *serras* reach as far as the kingdom of Daquem (Deccan) and border upon the territories belonging to the

1. "There were small openings or gates" translates our friend Prof. Rouch. Probably they were either like "diḍḍibāgilu" or some of the gates we see on the road between Hampi and Hospet. Anyway "pits or caves" is not an appropriate translation.

Ydallcão, and upon a city called Rachol (Raicūr or Raichūr) that formerly belonged to the king of Narsymga; there has been much war over it, and this king took it from the Ydallcão. So that these ranges are in a way the cause (of the two kingdoms) never uniting and always being at war; and even on the side of Orya also there are ranges, but they are different from these, since like ours they have scrub and small patches of brushwood; these ranges are low and between them are great plains. On the extreme east of these two kingdoms you must know that the country is all covered with scrub, the densest possible to be seen, in which there are great beasts and (this) forms so strong a fortress for it that it protects both sides; it has its entrances by which they pass from one kingdom to the other. In these passes on the frontier the king of Narsymga has a captain with a quantity of troops, but on the side of (Portuguese) India he has none, except as I have said.

Now turning to the gates of the first range, I say that at the entrance of the gate where those pass who come from Goa, which is the principal entrance on the western side, this king has made within it a very strong city fortified with walls and towers, and the gates at the entrances very strong, with towers at the gates; these walls are not like those of other cities, but are made of very strong masonry such as would be found in few other parts, and inside very beautiful rows of buildings made after their manner with flat roofs. There live in this many merchants, and it is filled with a large population because the king induces many honourable merchants to go there from his cities, and there is much water in it. Besides this the king made a tank[1] there, which, as it seems to me, has

1. The town which Paes speaks might have been situated in the place of modern Hospet. The tank which he mentions can still be seen on the way to Hospet from Harihar. It lies in between two hillocks and suits well to the description given by our chronicler.

the width of a falconshot, and it is at the mouth of two hills, so that all the water which comes from either one side or the other collects there; and, besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice-fields. In order to make this tank the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men, looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.

The tank burst two or three times, and the king asked his Brahmans to consult their idol as to the reason why it burst so often, and the Brahmans said that the idol was displeased and desired that they should make a sacrifice, and should give him the blood of men and horses and buffaloes; and as soon as the king heard this he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the pagoda the heads of sixty men should be cut off, and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done.

These Brahmans are like friars with us, and they count them as holy men—I speak of the Brahman priests and the lettered men of the pagodas—because although the king has many Brahmans, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the government of them; others are merchants, and others live by their own property and

cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds. Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood. Some of the other Brahmans whom I mentioned, who seek to serve God, and to do penance, and to live a life like that of the priests, do not eat flesh or fish or any other thing that suffers death, but only vegetables and butter and other things which they make of fruit,[1] with their rice. They are all married, and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmans are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few. There are many in this country who call themselves Brahmans[2], but they lead a life very different from those of whom I have spoken, for these last are men to whom the king pays much honour, and he holds them in great favour.

This new city that the king made bears the name of his wife for love of whom he made it, and the said city stands in a plain, and round it the inhabitants make their gardens as the ground suits, each one being separate[3]. In this city the king made a temple with many images. It is a thing very well made, and it has some wells very well made after their fashion, its houses are not built with storeys like

1. Sewell's translation is obscure. According to Prof. Rouch:- "...and the other things which they make are of flour like vermicelli, macaroni etc".
2. "Babnys" in the original, probably, an error for bramyne i.e. Brahmane.
3. According to Prof. Rouch: "The town is situated in the plain and around it the inhabitants make their gardens according to the land attributed to them".

ours, but are of only one floor, with flat roofs and towers, different from ours, for theirs go from storey to storey. They have pillars, and are all open, with verandahs inside and out, where they can easily put people if they desire, so that they seem like houses belonging to a king[1]. These palaces have an enclosing wall which surrounds them all, and inside are many rows of houses. Before you enter the place where the king is there are two gates with many guards, who prevent any one from entering except the captains and men who have business there; and between these two gates is a very large court with its verandahs round it, where these captains and other honoured people wait till the king summons them to his presence.

This king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of smallpox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title-"Crisnarão Macagão"[2] king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land. He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in (?) armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing

1. Sewell's translation is, again, not very clear. Paes here describes houses in typical Indian style. This type of houses, known as "Toṭṭimane" also called "Arasumane" or royal houses which are still to be seen in Mysore, though most of them are menaced by upcoming multistoried constructions. These "toṭṭimane" have an open space in the centre with a verandah around where pillars stand supporting the roof of it.
2. Kṛṣṇarāya mahārāya or Krishnarāya mahārāja.

compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things. This king was constantly at war with the king of Orya, and entered his kingdom, taking and destroying many cities and towns; he put to rout numbers of his soldiers and elephants, and took captive his son, whom he kept for a long time in this city of Bisnaga, where he died; and in order to make a treaty and (preserve) peace, the king of Orya gave him a daughter[1] whom the king of Bisnaga married and has as his wife.

This king has twelve lawful wives, of whom there are three[2] principal ones, the sons of each of these three being heirs of the kingdom, but not those of the others; this is (the case) when there are sons to all of them, but when there is only one son, whosesoever he may be, he is heir. One of these principal wives is the daughter of the king of Orya, and others daughters of a king his vassal who is king of Serimgapatão (Srīramgapaṭṭaṇa); another wife is a courtezan[3] whom in his youth he had for mistress before

1. According to the legend Jaganmohini was the name of the princess and she wanted to take revenge upon her father's defeat by the king. So, inspite of her marriage with the king she wanted to kill him. So, the furious king kept her in prison where she ended her life in repentance. As a mark of her regrets she wrote five verses in Sanskrit known as *Tukāpañcaka* "Tukā's five verses".
2. According to the legends Cinnādēvi was the courtezan and Tirumalādēvi daughter of the vassal of Srīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa was the principal queen. But, in the inscriptions the names of only two queens are mentioned viz. Cinnādēvi and Tirumāladēvi, and the former's name occurs first when both are mentioned. The name of the latter should have been mentioned first if she were the principal queen. S I I IV, no. 273 & 278. P. S. & V. Filliozat, Hampi-Vijayanagar, no. 1, 48-51. However, two more inscriptions record that Tirumalādēvi was the beloved and crown queen (paṭṭada rāṇi) of King Kṛṣṇarāya. S I I I X, pt. ii. no. 507 & 510.
3. Paes uses the term "unmarried lady" for what Sewell calls courtezan.

he became king, and she made him promise that if he came to be king he would take her to wife, and thus it came to pass that this courtezan became his wife. For love of her he built this new city, and its name was...(sic in orig)...Each one of these wives has her house to herself, with her maidens and women of the chamber, and women guards and all other women servants necessary; all these are women, and no man enters where they are, save only the eunuchs, who guard them. These women are never seen by any man, except perhaps by some old man of high rank by favour of the king. When they wish to go out they are carried in litters shut up and closed so that they cannot be seen, and all the eunuchs with them, fully three or four hundred; and all other people keep a long distance from them. They told us that each of these queens has a very large sum of money and treasure and personal ornaments, namely armlets, bracelets, seed-pearls, pearls and diamonds, and that in great quantity: and they also say that each of them has sixty maidens adorned as richly as could possibly be with many jewels, and rubies and diamonds and pearls and seed-pearls. These we afterwards saw, and stood astonished; we saw them at certain festivals which I will afterwards speak of, and of the manner in which they came. Within, with these maidens, they say that there are twelve thousand women; for you must know that there are women who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets, and others pipes, and others instruments which are different from ours; and in the same way they have women as bearers *(boois)* and washing-folk, and for other offices inside their gates, just as the king has the officers of his household. These three principal wives have each the same, one as much as the other, so that there may never be any discord or ill feeling between them; all of them are great friends, and each one

lives by herself. If may be gathered from this what a large enclosure there must be for these houses where so many people live, and what streets and lanes they must have.

The king lives by himself inside the palace, and when he wishes to have with him one of his wives he orders a eunuch to go and call her. The eunuch does not enter where she is, but tells it to the female guards, who make known to the queen that there is a message from the king, and then comes one of her maidens or chamber-women and learns what is wanted, and then the queen goes where the king is, or the king comes where she is, and so passes the time as it seems good to him without any of the others knowing. Amongst these eunuchs the king has some who are great favourites, and who sleep where he sleeps; they receive a large salary.

This king is accustomed every day to drink a quartilho (three-quarter pint) of oil of gingelly before daylight, and anoints himself all over with the said oil; he covers his loins with a small cloth, and takes in his arms great weights made of earthenware, and then, taking a sword, he exercises himself with it till he has sweated out all the oil, and then he wrestles with one of his wrestlers. After this labour he mounts a horse and gallops about the plain in one direction and another till dawn, for he does all this before daybreak. Then he goes to wash himself, and a Brahman washes him whom he holds sacred[1], and who is a great favourite of his and is a man of great wealth; and after he is washed he goes to where his pagoda is inside the palace, and makes his orisons and ceremonies, accord-

1. According to Prof. Rouch's translation: "A Brâhman who has a great reputation of holiness". In our sacred texts it is stated that the king should be washed by his guru or preceptor. Vyāsarāya was the preceptor of King Kṛṣṇarāya. Was it Vyāsarāya who used to bathe the king daily?

ing to custom. Thence he goes to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls,[1] which has many pillars hung with cloths right up to the top, and with the walls handsomely painted; it has on each side two figures of women very well made. In such a building he despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom, and govern his cities, and his favourites talk with them. The greatest favourite is an old man called Temersea[2], he commands the whole household, and to him all the great lords act as to the king. After the king has talked with these men on subjects pleasing to him he bids enter the lords and captains who wait at the gate, and these at once enter to make their salaam to him. As soon as they appear they make their salaam to him, and place themselves along the walls far off from him; they do not speak one to another, nor do they chew betel before him, but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics *(cabayas)*[3] and cast their eyes on the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person, and then he to whom the king desires to speak raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him, and then returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them go, and then they all turn to make the salaam to him and go out. The salaam, which is the greatest courtesy that exists among them, is that they put their hands joined[4] above

1. One of the important contributions of Kannaḍa kings who ruled from Vijayanagara to the Indian architecture is the open pillared maṇṭapa or pavilion or hall. Paes speaks of one such hall.
2. Timmarasu was the king's minister as well as his well-wisher. So, King Kṛṣṇarāya used to call him with much affection "Appāji" "father".
3. Cabaya is a Portuguese orthograph for "kapani" a kind of big tunic, precursor of modern "kaftaans" that ladies wear in India.
4. This is a gesture of añjalihasta'', or to join hands to say "namaste".

their head as high as they can. Every day they go to make the salaam to the king.

When we came to this country the king was in this new town, and there went to see him Christovão de Figueiredo with all of us Portuguese that came with him, and all very handsomely dressed after our manner, with much finery; the king received him very well, and was very complacent to him. The king was as much pleased with him as if he had been one of his own people, so much attention did he evince towards him; and also towards those amongst us who went with him he showed much kindness. We were so close to the king that he touched us all and could not have enough of looking at us. Then Christovão de Ffigueiredo gave him the letters from the Captain-Major and the things he had brought for him, with which he was greatly delighted, principally with certain organs that the said Christovão de Figueiredo brought him, with many other things *(peças)*. The king was clothed in certain white cloths embroidered with many roses in gold, and with a *pateca*[1] of diamonds on his neck of very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk, and he was barefooted; for no one ever enters where the king is unless he has bare feet, and the majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted. The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner, and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles, but on top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the

1. Exact form is paṭṭikā or a kind of collar or a strip of cloth embedded with precious stones and pearls worn around the neck. It was a fashion in those days to wear such a collar around the neck. Other chroniclers also mention this kind of collar. See Abdur-Razak.

Romans were wont to wear, as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy. The king gave to Christovão de Figueiredo on dismissing him a *cabaya* (tunic) of brocade, with a cape of the same fashion as the king wore, and to each one of the Portuguese he gave a cloth embroidered with many pretty figures, and this the king gives because it is customary; he gives it in token of friendship and love.

When Christovão de Figueiredo had been dismissed by the king we came to the city of Bisnaga, which is a league from this new city, and here he commanded us to be lodged in some very good houses; and Figueiredo was visited by many lords and captains, and other persons who came on behalf of the king. And the king sent him many sheep and fowls, and many vessels *(calõees)*[1] full of butter and honey and many other things to eat, which he at once distributed amongst all the foot-soldiers and people whom he had brought with him. The king said many kind and pleasant things to him, and asked him concerning the kind of state which the king of Portugal kept up; and having been told about it all he seemed much pleased.

Returning then to the city of Bisnaga, you must know that from it to the new city goes a street[2] as wide as a place of tourney, with both sides lined throughout with rows of houses and ships where they sell everything; and all along this road are many trees that the king commanded to be planted, so as to afford shade to those that pass along. On this road he commanded to be erected a very beautiful

1. Koḷāyi or Kolaga is a kind of utensil of the bygone days for cooking or storing water etc.
2. This royal road connecting Hampi and Hospet is still in use but has lost its old charm. However, here and there traces of old gates, temples and platforms stand singing their past lores.

temple[1] of stone, and there are other pagodas that the capains and great lords caused to be erected.

So that, returning to the city of Bisnaga, you must know that before you arrive to the city gates there is a gate with a wall[2] that encloses all the other enclosures of the city, and this wall is a very strong one of massive stonework; but at the present time it is injured in some places. They do not fail to have citadels in it. This wall has a moat of water in some place, and in the parts where it was constructed on low ground. And there is, separate from it, yet another (defence) made in the following manner. Certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast; they are in breadth a lanceshaft and a half, with the same distance between them and the great wall. This wall rises in all the low ground till it reaches some hill or rocky land. From this first circuit until you enter the city there is a great distance, in which are fields in which they sow rice and have many gardens and much water, which water comes from two lakes. The water passes through this first line of wall, and there is much water in the lakes because of springs; and here there are orchards and a little grove of palms, and many houses.

1. In the original the word is "pagode" and Sewell has translated it "temple". In the beginning Europeans were calling our temples "pagode" because the term "Bhagavati" which they were employing commonly to designate a temple gradually became pagode. The monument which Paes speaks of here is probably "Anantaśayanagudi" the temple which the king had it built when he was blessed with a son in 1517. The village with the temple of Anantasáyana is just adjacent to Hospet not far from the railway level crossing on the Hospet-Hampi road.
2. Probably the wall mentioned by him is the one near present Mālpangudi village. Though not much of this wall is left now one can still see a few traces of it here and there to think that it might have probably encircled the whole capital.

Returning, then, to the first gate of the city, before you arrive at it you pass a little piece of water and then you arrive at the wall, which is very strong, all of stone-work, and it makes a bend before you arrive at the gate; and at the entrance of this gate are two towers, one on each side, which makes it very strong. It is large and beautiful. As soon as you pass inside there are two little temples; one of them has an enclosing wall with many trees, while the whole of the other consists of buildings; and this wall of the first gate encircles the whole city. Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at. Going along the principal street, you have one of the chief gateways, which issues from a great open space in front of the king's palace; opposite this is another which passes along to the other side of the city; and across this open space pass all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else, and because it is in the middle of the city it cannot but be useful.

This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space (*terra moor cerca*) than all the castle of Lisbon.

Still going forward, passing to the other gate you see two temples[1] connected with it, one on each side, and at the door of one of these they kill every day many sheep; for in all the city they do not kill any sheep for the use of the heathen (hindus), or for sale in the markets, except at the gate of this pagoda. Of their blood they make sacrifices to

1. Pagodas in the original. At places Sewell also has used the term pagode.

the idol that is in the temple. They leave the heads to him, and for each sheep they give a *saco (chakram)* which is a coin like a *cartilha (quartilha*-a farthing).

There is present at the slaughter of these beasts a *Jogi* (priest) who has charge of the temple, and as soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or Goat this *jogi* blows a horn as a sign that the idol receives that sacrifice. Hereafter I shall tell of these *jogis*, what sort of men they are.

Close to these pagodas is a triumphal car covered with carved work and images, and on one day in each year during a festival they drag this through the city in such streets as it can traverse. It is large and cannot turn corners.

Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street, full of rows of fine houses and streets of the sort I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street live many merchants, and there you will find all sorts of rubies and diamonds, and emeralds, and pearls, and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags (*rocis e semdeiros*), and also many citrons[1] and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street. At the end of it you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken, in such sort that this city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace. Then when this gate is passed you have another street where there are many craftsmen,

1. In the original Cydrois which belongs to the family of lemon. Is it "mātulaṅga"? Even to-day, mātulaṅga which is as sour as lemon, is sold in Mysore markets.

and they sell many things; and in this street there are two small temples (pagodes). There are temples (pagodes) in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants; but the principal and greatest pagodas are outside the city. In this street lodged Christovao de Figueiredo. On every Friday you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city. At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his guard. In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds.

The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill[1] whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome, and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes (*tamques*); and the king has close to his palace a palm-grove and other rich bearing fruit-trees. Below the Moorish

1. Mātaṅgaparvata or Mātaṅga hill is situated to the east, facing the main temple of Virūpākṣa in Hampi. There are steps to the east, west and south to reach the top of the hill. Standing on the summit of it one can enjoy the grandeur of the capital upto where the eyes can carry the vue. Probably, Paes went up on the top of this hill to enjoy the beauty and grandeur of Vijayanagar capital city.

quarter[1] is a little river, and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruit trees, for the most part mangoes and areca-palms and jack-trees, and also many lime and orange trees, growing so closely one to another that it appears like a thick forest; and there are also white grapes. All the water which is in the city comes from the two tanks of which I have spoken, outside the first enclosing wall.

The people in this city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous; but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and elephants.

This is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian-corn[2], and a certain amount of barley and beans, *moong*, pulses[3], horse-gram[4], and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it

1. Judging from the muslim cemeteries in the ruins of Hampi it looks that there were two moorish quarters in the capital: one to the south and the other to the north. Perhaps, there was a rivulet which was fitted up and converted into a canal now known as Turutta canal. Probably, this same small river is mentioned in Kannaḍa literary works such as "*paṃpāsthānavarṇane*" by Candrakavi.
2. To Sewell what are grains and Indian-corn are millets like jowar etc. It should not be confounded with *maze* because it was not yet known in India. Bengal gram is *kaḍale* in Kannaḍa or chicken pea, Cicer aientinum Lin.
3. Macharuy in the original. ProbNarasiṃhaably Paes refers to masoordal also known as Egyptian pulse.
4. Horse-gram is Huraḷi or huruḷi "the seed of the pulse Dolichos uniflorus Lam." Kittel's *Kannaḍa Englisg Dictionary*, ed. 1971 page. 1745. This variety of pulses is used for feeding horses in Karnāṭaka.

except the Moors. But you will find what I have mentioned. The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along for them, and in many streets you come upon so many of them that you have to wait for them to pass, or lese have to go by another way. There is much poultry; they give three fowls in the city for a coin worth a *vintem*, which coins are called *favaos*[1]; outside the city they give four fowls for a *vintem*.

In this country there are many partridges, but they are not of the same sort or quality as ours; they are like the estarnas of Italy.

There are three sorts of these: one class has only a small spur such as those of Portugal have; another class has on each foot two very sharp spurs, almost as long and thick as one's finger; the other class is painted[2], and of these you will find the markets full; as also of quails, and hares, and all kinds of wild fowl, and other birds which live in the lakes and which look like geese. All these birds and game animals they sell alive, and they are very cheap, for they give six or eight partridges for a *vintem*, and of hares they give two and sometimes one. Of other birds they give more than you can count, for even of the large ones they give so many that you would hardly pay any attention to the little ones they give you, such as doves and pigeons and the common birds of the country. The doves are of two kinds; some are like those in Portugal, others are as large as thrushes; of the doves they give twelve or fourteen for a *favao;* the pigeons are the same price as the other birds. Then the sheep that they kill every day are countless, one could not number them, for in every street there are men who will sell you mutton, so clean and so fat that it looks

1. Paṇa or faṇam has become Favaos in Portuguese mouth.
2. According to Prof. Rouch: "Birds were with spots and not painted". Sewell's translation is incorrect.

like pork; and you also have pigs in some streets of butchers' houses so white and clean that you could never see better in any country; a pig is worth four or five *fanams*[1]. Then to see the many loads of limes that come each day, such that those of povos are of no account and also loads of sweet and sour oranges, and wild *brinjals*[2] and other gaden stuff in such abundance as to stupefy one. For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; and also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold every day, that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which goes on in the city, there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it. There are many pomegranates also; grapes are sold at three bunches a *fanam*[3], and pomegranates ten for a *fanam*.

On the north side of the city is a very great river[4] with much water, in which are many fish, which fish are very unwholesome, and in this river there is that which passes for...(sic. in orig); other streams flow into it, which make it very large.

Now as to the places on the bank of this river. There is a city built there which they call *Senagumdym (Ānegundi)* and they say that of old it was the capital of the kingdom, but there now live in it few people; it still has good walls and is very strong, and it lies between two hill-ranges which have only two entrances. A captain lives in this city for the king. People cross to this place by boats which are

1. Favõees in the original and neither *fanam* nor *fanõees* as Sewell puts it in note no. 2, p. 249.
2. Brinjals or aubergines or baiṅgan in Hindi.
3. For both grapes and pomegranates rate is given as Favão in the original not *fanam* as Sewell puts it.
4. This is river Tuṅgabhadrā or Tuṃgabhadrā whose water is known for its sweetness.

round like baskets[1]; inside they are made of cane, and outside are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen or twenty persons, and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary, but for the most part these animals swim across. Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these.

There are also in this city places where they sell live sheep; you will see the fields round the city full of them, and also of cows and buffaloes-it is a very pretty sight to see-and also the many she-goats and kids, and the he-goats so large that they are bridled and saddled. Many sheep are like that also, and boys ride them.

Outside the city walls on the north there are three very beautiful pagodas, one of which is called *Vitella*[2], and

1. It was usual in those days to have such boats to go across the rivers. In Kannaḍa they are called "Harigolu". At eight points there was ferry service on the river, according to an inscription in the Viṭhala temple at Hampi. S I I IV, no. 277 & ibid IX, pt. ii. no. 534; and also in P.S. and V. Filliozat, *Hampi-Vijayanagar*, p. 52-56. Even to-day, there are boat services near Viṭhala and Virūpākṣa temples to cross the river to go to Ānegondi (Ānegundi). Descendants of the recipients of land grants for the ferry services during the heydays of the empire continue the work of their ancestors.
2. Fifth line of the wall encircles the heart of the city which probably was the "Hosapaṭṭaṇa" of Hoysaḷa kings. In later days, it came to be called Vijayanagara. By and large "Vijayanagara" is used for the whole of the capital, but, in some cases, in restricted sense, it represents only the heart of the city. That is why Paes says "outside the city wall..." Viṭhala is outside the city wall and the most beautiful temple in Haṃpi. Glorious days of the temple started in the times of Sāluvas and reached the zenith during the Tuḷuvas due to the influence of Mādhva pontiffs who were also royal preceptors and also great devotees of God Viṭhala. Later, in King Sadāśivarāya's period their places were occupied by Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Other temples were Kṛṣṇa Acyuta & Virūpākṣa.

it stands over against this city of Nagumdym *(Ānegundi)*; the other is called *Aõperadianar*[1], and this is the one which they hold in most veneration, and to which they make great pilgrimages.

In this pagoda, opposite to its principal gate which is to the east, there is a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades[2], in which are sheltered the pilgrims that come to it, and there are also houses for the lodging of the upper classes; the king has a palace[3] in the same street, in which he resides when he visits this pagoda. There is a pomegranate[4] tree above this first gate; the gate has a very lofty tower all covered with rows of men and women and hunting scenes and many other representations, and as the tower goes narrowing towards the top so the images diminish in size. Passing this first

1. Probably, Pampāvirūpākṣa or Pampāpatinātha has become Aõperadianār to Portuguese ears. There is no doubt that Paes is now in and around Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi. The protecting deity Paṃpā-Virūpākṣa was also the royal deity and it was the main temple in the capital.
2. According to our friend Prof. Rouch "alpemdoradas" means only galleries and not galleries and balconies. In Milano, Italy, we see this kind of houses and shops with open galleries. Also, one can get a rough idea of shops with arcades in Hampi, if one visits Bombay fort area.
3. Towards the end of this street, before taking turn to go to the river there is a beautiful house which has royal palatial appearance with a balcony etc. Most probably, it was a royal a residence and Paes might be referring to this house.
4. Sewell's translation is a little incoherent here. Prof. Rouch translates it as follows: "Above this first gate there is a frise like in Roman (temple style) and a spire very high the whole of it covered with (representations of) rows of men, women and hunting scenes and of many other stories." It looks Paes was quite conversant with Roman architecture; so he compares our monuments with them and uses those terms for their description.

gate, you come at once into a large courtyard with another gate[1] of the same sort as the first, except that it is rather smaller throughout; and passing this second gate, there is a large court with verandahs all round on pillars of stone, and in the middle of this court is the house of the idol.

Opposite the principal gate stand four columns[2] two gilded and the other two of copper, from which, owing to their great age as it seems to me, the gold has worn off; and the other two are also of copper, for all are of copper. That which stands nearest the gate of the temple was given by this King Crisnarão Krṣṇarāya who now reigns here, and the others by his predecessors. All the outer side of the gate of the temple up to the roof is covered with copper and gilded and on each side of the roof on the top are certain great animals that look like tigers, all gilt. As soon as you enter this idol-shrine, you perceive from pillar to pillar on which it is supported many little holes in which stand oil lamps, which burn, so they tell me, every night, and they will be in number two thousand five hundred and three thousand lights. As soon as you pass this shrine you enter another small one like the crypt (*cinzeyro*) of some church; it has two doors at the sides, and thence onward this building is like a chapel, where stands the idol which they adore. Before you get to it there are three doors; the shrine is vaulted and dark without any light from the sky; it is always lit with candles. At the first gate are doorkeepers who never allow any one to enter except the Brahmans that have charge of it, and I, because I gave something to

1. This is "rāyagopura" built by King Krṣṇarāya in A.D. 1509-10 to commemorate his accession to the throne. S I I vol. IV, no. 259.
2. All these pillars are no more there. In early seventies, when I was working on Hampi and Viṭhala temple, three of these pillars were still in *situ*. Fallen pillars have been replaced by others in ordinary wood.

them, was allowed to enter. Between gate and gate are images of little idols. The principal idol is a round stone without any shape; they have great devotion for it. This building outside is all covered with copper gilt. At the back of the temple outside,[1] close to the verandahs of which I have spoken, there is a small idol of white alabaster with six arms in one it has a ...and in the other a sword, and in the others sacred emblems (armas de casa) and it has below its feet a buffalo and a large animal which is helping

1. Whole description of the temple by Paes is really astonishing. It is difficult to accept that he could bribe a brahmane and could enter the temple because in the beginning of the century even the archaeologists and epigraphists of the British government were not allowed to enter into the first prākāra or enceinte of the temple. I really wonder how he had managed to enter the temple upto sanctum sanctorum. We cannot deny his visit to the temple because the general layout of the monument he gives is almost correct. He says that there were animals like tigers on the top...By and large tiger has a place on the roof of Durgā temple. Such fabulous animals are represented in stone also in the mahāmaṇṭapa which was built by King Krṣṇarāya in 1509-10. These animals are standing on their hind legs whereas the front ones hold an oil-lamp container. What Paes meant by holes where the lights are lit are not really holes. An architectural element on the basement (soubassement) called (padma) or inverted lotus petals serves the purpose of lamp-supports. Even to-day, at the time of some great festivals like betrothal, marriage of god with the goddess and Śivarātri thousands of devotees gather there and those who have made a vow lit either ghee or oil lamps. It is really a sight to be seen when the whole temple is illuminated with thousands of these lamps.
Moreover, the statue of Durgā that he is describing was installed by a chieftain from Bezvāḍa just about the time of Paes's visit to the capital. During the troubled days of the empire this statue was carried to Ānegondi and kept in so-called Pampāsarovar caves. The statue is still there with only four hands, because two are broken. One can say that it is in Vijayanagara style.

to kill that buffalo. In this pagoda there burns continually a lamp of ghee, and around are other small temples for houses of devotion.

The other temples aforesaid are made in the same manner, but this one is the principal one and the oldest; they all have many buildings and gardens with many trees, in which the Brahmans cultivate their vegetables and the other herbs that they eat. Whenever the festival of any of these temples occurs they drag along certain triumphal cars which run on wheels, and with it go dancing-girls[1] and other women with music to the temple (conducting) the idol along the said street with much pomp. I do not relate the manner in which these cars are taken because in all the time that I was in this city none were taken round. There are many other temples in the city of which I do not here speak, to avoid prolixity.

You should know that among these heathen[2] there are days when they celebrate their feasts as with us; and they have their days of fasting, when all day they eat nothing, and eat only at midnight. When the time of the principal festival arrives the king comes from the new city to this city of Bisnaga, since it is the capital of the kingdom, and it is the custom there to make their feasts and to assemble. For these feasts are summoned all the dancing-women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues-except only those whom the king may have sent

1. Here Paes has employed the term "bayadère" for dancing-girls. Bur further he employs again the term "unmarried girls" for dance. According to the customs of the bygone days these dancing girls were accompanying the temple chariot processions. This is attested in the inscriptions too.
2. Gentios in the original which means gentiles. Sewell translates it as heathens.

to make war, or those who are in other parts, or at the far end of the kingdom on the side where (an attack) is feared, such as the kingdom of Oria and the territories of the Ydallcão; and even if such captains are absent in such places, there appear for them at the feasts those whom I shall hereafter mention.

These feasts begin on the the 12th of September and they last nine days[1], and take place at the king's palace.

The palace is on this fashion: it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower[2] of some height, made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many doorkeepers with leather scourges[3] in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space[4], and then you have another gate like the first, also with its

1. This nine-day festival is known as "navarātri" when goddesses Sarasvati and Durgā are worshipped all over India. In Karnāṭaka as this festival lasts for ten days it is called "Dasara" i.e. ten days. On the tenth day, specially in north Karnāṭaka (former Bombay Karnāṭaka) processional images of local deities are brought to the main temple where there is a tree of Śami. After the completion of certain rituals at the foot of this holy tree people exchange the leaves of this tree amongst relatives and friends wishing that their relationship should remain as precious as gold because that day these leaves represent "gold". Even to-day a procession is held in Mysore in souvenir of the grandeur and glory of this procession during the days of Mahārājas. In Karnāṭaka this festival is called also "nāḍahabba" festival of (Kannaḍa) nāḍu because, according to a folk song, this was the day when "Harihara I was secretly nominated to the throne in Hampi."
2. "spire" in the original.
3. Prof. Rouch translates it as "whip".
4. Not the open space but "vast place", according to Prof. Rouch.

doorkeepers and guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one storeyed[1] building (*terrea*); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corredor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory,[2] as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya; as I have already told you. On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings[3], made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the wall; they were covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at that place, but they are specially made for these feasts; there are eleven of them. Against the gates there were two circles in which were the dancing-women[4] richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of

1. According to Prof. Rouch this is a house without any storey.
2. Description of this "house of victory" as given by Paes suits well to the platform in the ruins which goes by the name of "audience hall" now. There is a platform, a corridor, not terrace as Sewell translates, on three sides of it, where people could sit to watch the festivities.
3. According to Prof. Rouch "there were tiers or ascending galleries". A kind of big pendal with velvet covered top.
4. "Which were occupied by unmarried women", according to Prof. Rouch's translation.

the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings[1] of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken; these buildings are served by a kind of staircase of stone beautifully wrought,—one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung with rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery[2]; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts, and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovão de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him, for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have already said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets.

Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (casa) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine: and in the

1. If one walks a little south-west of this so-called audience hall one comes across with two platforms. Both are situated one next to the other. As they were victims of plundering nothing is left except the basement. These basements have beautiful friezes and staircases flanked with elephants.
2. It was decorated with painted cloths and not embroidered as Sewell thinks.

other in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the stair-case in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of state made thus,—it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top, and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the woodwork of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (*?soajes*)[1], and has lions all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths (*soajes*) with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is all full of golden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head-dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet[2] for the foot made in the same fashion; it is another state jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm. In front of all this, at the edge of the dais, resting on a support were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts. The feasts commence thus:

You must know that when it is morning the king comes to this House of Victory, and betakes himself to that room where the idol is with its Brahmans, and he performs his prayers and ceremonies. Outside the house are some of his favourites, and on the square are many dancing-girls

1. Silk cushions, probably he meant.
2. Vīrakaḍaga or vīrapeṇḍe an anklet as sign of heroism was worn by the kings and warriors. It was customary in Kamāṭaka to present such anklets to war heroes by the kings or nobles.

dancing[1]. In their verandahs round the square are many captains and chief people who come there in order to see; and on the ground, near the platform of the house, are eleven horses with handsome and well-arranged trappings, and behind them are four beautiful elephants with many adornments. After the king has entered inside he comes out, and with him a Brahman who takes in his hand a basket full of white roses and approaches the king on the platform, and the king taking three handfuls of these roses, throws them to the horses and after he has thrown them he takes a basket of perfumes and acts towards them as though he would cense[2] them; and when he has finished doing this he reaches towards the elephants and does the same to them. And when the king has finished this, the Brahman takes the basket and descends to the platform, and from thence puts those roses and other flowers on the heads of all the horses, and this done, returns to the king. Then the king goes again to where the idol is, and as soon as he is inside they lift the curtains of the room, which are made like the purdahs of a tent, (*Paredes, probably "purdahs" curtains or screens.*) and the king seats himself there where these are, and they lift them all[3]. Thence he witnesses the slaughter of twenty-four buffaloes and a hundred and fifty sheep, with which a sacrifice is made to that idol; you must know that they cut off the heads of these buffaloes

1. Prof. Rouch's version: "You must know right in the dawn the king goes to this house of victory and with his brahman goes inside where the idol is and he is performing rituals and prayers while his favourites wait outside in the same victory house. Some unmarried girls were dancing on the place (square)."
2. Gesture of taking a handful of flowers and bringing upto his forehead as if to touch them to his eyes made the Portuguese to think that the king is smelling them. This gesture is a part of the ritual in South India.
3. They lift them where they (curtains) are, says Prof. Rouch.

and sheep at one blow with certain large sickles which are wielded by a man who has charge of this slaughter; they are so sure of hand that no blow misses. When they have finished the slaughter of these cattle the king goes out and goes to the other large buildings, on the platforms of which is a crowd of Brahmans, and as soon as the king ascends to where they stand they throw to the king ten or twelve roses—those (that is) who are nearest to him. Then he passes all along the top of the buildings and as soon as he is at the end he takes the cap from his head, and after placing it on the ground turns back (to the place) where the idol is; here he lies extended on the ground[1]. When he has arisen he betakes himself to the interior of the building and enters a garden (*or walled enclosure-quyntal*) here they say that a little fire has been made, and he throws into the fire a powder made up of many things, namely rubies and pearls and all other kinds of precious stones and aloes and other sweet-scented things[2]. This done, he returns to the pagoda and goes inside and stays a little, at which time enter by the other door some of his favourites who are in the building, and they make their salaam. Then he goes back to the place whence he threw the flowers to the horses, and as soon as he is here all the captains and chief people come and make their salaam to him, and some, if they so desire, present some gifts to him; then as they came so they retire, and each one betakes himself to his own dwelling. And the king withdraws to the interior of his palace by that gate which I have already mentioned—that which stands between the two buildings that are in the area (*terreyro*) the

1. This is Sirasāṣṭāṅganamaskāra that is prostrating with eight limbs of the body signifying the complete surrender to God.
2. Paes must be speaking of a sacrifice. But it is strange to note that rubies, pearls, precious stones along with aloes were thrown in the Sacrificial fire.

courtesans and bayadères[1] remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time. This is what is done during the morning of each day of these nine days, with the ceremonies I have mentioned, and each day more splendid (than the last).

Now, returning to the feasts. At three o'clock in the afternoon every one comes to the palace. They do not admit every one at once (they allowed us to go into the open part that is between the gates), but there go inside only the wrestlers and dancing women, and the elephants, which go with their trappings and decorations, those that sit on them being armed with shields and javelins, and wearing quilted tunics[2]. As soon as these are inside they range themselves round the arena, each one in his place, and the wrestlers go close to the staircase which is in the middle of that building, where has been prepared a large space of ground[3] for the dancing-women to wrestle. Many other people are then at the entrance-gate opposite to the building, namely Brahmans, and the sons of the king's favourites, and their relations; all these are noble youths who serve before the king. The officers of the household go about keeping order amongst all the people, and keep each one in his own place. The different pavilions are separated by doors, so that no one may enter unless he is invited.

1. In the original there are two words "molheres solteiras e baylhadeiras'. According to Prof. Rouch these two words mean "unmarried girls and bayadères" respectively. It was common in those days that the temple dancers remained unmarried in order to devote all their life time for the services of the gods whereas bayadères were courtesans in the services of the king and were esplognnel too.
2. Prof. Rouch translates as "sword, shield and javeline."
3. "Large space of ground with fine dust for the unmarried girls and bayadères to wrestle" translates Prof. Rouch.

Slavatinica *(Sâluva Timma, the minister)* who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the king and made him king, and so the king looks on him like a father[1]. Whenever the king calls to him he addresses him as "Lord *(senhor)* Salvatinica," and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him. This Salvatinica stands inside the arena where the festivals go on, near one of the doors, and from there gives the word for the admission of all the things necessary for the festival.

After all this is done and arranged the king goes forth and seats himself on the dais I have mentioned, where is the throne and the other things, and all those that are inside make their salaam to him. As soon as they have done this the wrestlers seat themselves on the ground, for these are allowed to remain seated, but no other, howsoever great a lord he be, except the king so commands, and these also eat betel, though none else may eat it in his presence except the dancing-women, who may always eat it before him. As soon as the king is seated in his place he bids to sit with him three or four men who belong to his race, and who are themselves kings and the fathers of his wives; the principal of these is the king of Syrimgapatão[2] and of all the territory bordering on Malabar, and this king is called Cumarvirya[3] *(Kumâra Vîrayya)*, and he seats himself as far in front as the king on the other side of the dais, the rest are behind.

There the king sits, dressed in white clothes all

1. The king used to address him "appāji" "father" with respect and affection and no "senhor Salvatinica" as the Portuguese says.
2. Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa. Sewell guesses that the rulers of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa were the ancestors of the future Mahārājas of Mysore.
3. In the original it is Eumarvirya and not Cumâra Vîrayya as Sewell gives.

covered with (embroidery[1] of) golden roses and wearing his jewels—he wears a quantity of these white garments, and I always saw him so dressed—and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of state. Many brahmans stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes[2], coloured the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity; they also fan the king with them.

But returning to the feasts[3], as soon as the king is seated, the captains who waited without make their entrance, each one by himself, attended by his chief people, and so on, all in order; they approach and make their salaams to the king, and then take their places in the pavilions (*veramdas*[4]) which I have previously described. As soon as these nobles have finished entering, the captains of the troops approach with shields and spears, and afterwards the captains of the archers; these officers are all stationed on the ground around the arena in front of the elephants, and they constitute the king's guard, for into such a place no man may enter bearing arms, nor near to where the king is. As soon as these soldiers have all taken their places the women begin to dance, while some of them place themselves in the circular galleries that I have said were (erected) at their gate of entrance. We can fitly

1. Probably, a kind of "Kamāṭaki Kasūti or Kaśīdā" work. The word "Embroidery" should not be taken as it is understood now.
2. It must be "cowri" or fly-whisk specially made of the yaktail. As the Portuguese were not yet knowing the yak our chronciler thought that it was a horse-tail. Further in the same paragraph, it confirms the idea of chowri or fly-whisk. Fanning gods with chowri was considered as a special privilege.
3. To avoid monotony Sewell has omitted this phrase.
4. The correct version is veramdas.

describe to you the great riches these women carry on their persons?-collars[1] of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on the feet. The marvel should be otherwise, namely that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth; but there are women of such a profession among them who have lands that have been given to them, and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city who is said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos* and I believe this from what I have seen of them.

Then the wrestlers begin their play. Their wrestling does not seem like ours, but there are blows (given), so severe as to break teeth, and put out eyes, and disfigure faces, so much so that here and there men are carried off speechless by their friends; they give one another fine falls too. They have their captains and judges, who are there to put each one on an equal footing in the field, and also to adjust the honours to him who wins.

In all this portion of the day nothing more is done than this wrestling and the dancing of the women[2], but as soon as ever the sun is down many torches are lit and some great flambeaux made of cloth; and these are placed about the arena in such a way that the whole is as light as day, and even along the top of the walls, for on all the battlements[3], are lighted lamps, and the place where the king

1. Not collars in its modern sense but a kind of necklace or a band of cloth richly adorned with pearls and precious stones was worn just around the neck (like Nehru's coat collar) which looked like a collar to the Portuguese.
2. "Public women dancing," Prof. Rouch.
3. "The space between the battlements is occupied by the torches". says Prof. Rouch.

sits is all full of torches. As soon as these are lit up there are introduced many very graceful plays and contrivances, but these do not stop long; they only approach where the king is and then go out. Then there enter others in other fashion, with battles of people on horseback; these horses are like the hobby-horses made in Portugal for the feast of the Corpo de Dios; others come with casting-nets, fishing and capturing the men that are in the arena. When these amusements are ended, they begin to throw up many rockets and many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling out from themselves many bombs (tiros) and rockets.

When these fireworks are finished, there enter many triumphant cars (chariots) which belong to the captains, some of them sent by those captains who are waging war in foreign parts; and they enter thus. The first belongs to Salvatinica, and they come in one after the other. Some of the cars appear covered with many rich cloths, having on them many devices of dancing-girls and other human figures[1]; there are other cars having tiers one on top of another, and others all of one kind; and so in their order they pass to where the king is. When the cars (chariots) have gone out they are immediately followed by many horses covered with trappings and cloths of very fine stuff of the king's colours, and with many roses and flowers on their heads and necks, and with their bridles all gilded; and in front of these horses goes a horse with two state-umbrellas of the king, and with grander decorations than the others, and one of the lesser equerries leads it by the bridle. In front of this horse goes another caracoling

1. According to Prof. Rouch, Sewell has omitted a few words here: 'which were like that of clowns". Even to-day is held a procession of chariots with tableaux during Dasarā festival in Mysore.

and pracing, as do all horses here, being trained in that art. You must know that this horse that is conducted with all this state is a horse that the king keeps, on which they are sworn and received as kings, and on it must be sworn all those that shall come after them; and in case such a horse dies they put another in its place. If any king does not wish to be sworn on horseback, they swear him on an elephant, which they keep and treat with equal dignity.

These horses, then going in the way I have stated, pass twice round the arena and place themselves in the middle of the arena in five or six lines, one before the other, and the king's horse in front of them, all facing the king; they stand in such a way that between them and the men there is an open space all round. As soon as they are arranged in this way and are all quiet there goes out from the inside of the palace a Brahman, the highest in rank of those about the king, and two others with him, and this chief Brahman carries in his hands a bowl with coconut and some rice and flowers, while others carry a pot of water; and they pass round by the back of the horses, which all stand facing the king; and after performing his ceremonies there, he returns to the palace.

After this is over you will see issuing from inside twnety-five or thirty female doorkeepers, with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders; and then close to these come many eunuchs, and after these eunuchs come many women playing many trumpets and drums and pipes (but not like ours) and viols and many other kinds of music, and behind these women will come some twenty women-porters, with canes in their hands all covered with silver, and close to them come women clothed in the following manner. They have very rich and fine silk clothes;

on the head they wear high caps which they call *collaes*[1] and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars[2] on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this many strings of pearls and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist many girdles of gold and of precious stones, which girdles hang in order one below the other, almost as far down as half the thigh; besides these belts they have other jewels, and many strings of pearls[3] round the ankles, for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest. They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside these are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax, and inside all this a lighted lamp. They come in regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and young, from sixteen to twenty years of age. Who is he that could tell of the costliness and the value of what each of these women carries on her person? So great is the weight of the bracelets and gold and jewels carried by them that many of them cannot support them, and women accompany them assisting them by supporting

1. A head-dress or a *bonnet* is called kulāya in Kannaḍa which became collães in Portuguese. In those days "kulāya" was made of very thick cloth and outside it is covered with fine hand-work (embroidery) and set with precious stones and pearls. This kind of kulāya can be seen even to-day at Mēlukōṭe worn by the priest who does "areyara seve" or the "service of the areyar".
2. See ante. p. 89 & p. 112.
3. This must be "paijaṇa"or "peṇḍe" an anklet of round beeds in silver. Men were wearing a kind of anklet called "muttina peṇḍe" pearl anklet. It was considered as a great honour to wear them either on their feet or on hands as a sign of scholarship of heroism.

their arms[1]. In this manner and in this array they proceed three times round the horses, and at the end retire into the palace. These women are maids of honour to the queens, and so are the others that go with them on each day of these nine days of the feast one of the queens sends, each on her own day, her ladies with the others. The officials, in honour of the feast, have the days divided between them in accordance with their custom as already arranged by the king; and these women come every day most richly attired, taking pleasure in showing themselves in such things, and in making a display each one of what she possesses.

When these women retire the horses also go, and then come the elephants, and after making their salaam they too retire. As soon as they are gone the king retires by a small door which is at the end of the building. Then the Brahmans go and take an idol, and carry it to the House of Victory, where is the room of cloth that I have spoken of, and the king at once comes from within, and goes to where the idol is, and offers his prayers and performs his ceremonies. Then, they bring there more buffaloes and sheep, and kill them in the same way as before, and then come the professional women[2] to dance. As soon as the slaughter of the buffaloes and sheep is over the king retires, and goes to his supper; for he fasts all these nine days, and (each day) they eat nothing until all is finished, and their hour for food is midnight[3]. The bayadères remain dancing before the idol

1. In the south, sometimes while performing *ârati* two ladies join together and do it. At times, the second lady either holds the plateau of ârati or hands of the other lady. Probably, this way of performing ârati might have made Paes to remark "women accompany them assisting them by supporting their arms".
2. Unmarried women in the text.
3. As per the translation of Prof. Rouch: "In fact, he fasts during the nine days of the festival until the moment when all is over. Bayadères continue to dance for a long time even when the ceremonies are over".

a long time after all this is done.

In this way are celebrated these festivals of nine days; on the last day there are slaughtered two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep.

When these days of festival are past[1], the king holds a review of all his forces, and the review is thus arranged. The King commands to pitch his tent of Mecca velvet a full league from the city, at a place already fixed for that purpose; and in this tent they place the idol in honour of which all these festivals are celebrated.

From this tent to the king's palace the captains range themselves with their troops and array, each one in his place according to his rank in the king's household. Thus the soldiers stand in line; but it does not appear to you to be only one line but in some places two or three, one behind the other. Where there was a lake it was surrounded with troops, and where the road was narrow they were drawn up on the plain; and so on the slope of the hills and eminences, in such a way that you could see neither plain nor hill that was not entirely covered with troops. Those on foot stood in front of those on horses, and the elephants behind the horses; in this array was each captain with his troops. The captains who had their stations inside the city, since the soldiers could not be drawn up on the flat roofs of the houses, put up scaffoldings across the mouths of the streets to hold the troops, in such a way that all were full, both outside and in.

Now I should like to describe to you how they were armed, and their decorations. The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned, and on their foreheads plates, some of silver but most of them gilded, with fringes of

1. The king holds a review of all his forces on the tenth day. As it is a continuation of nine day festival that is the reason why it is also called "Dasara" in Karnāṭaka.

twisted silk of all colours, and reins of the same[1]; others had trappings of Mecca velvet, which is velvet of many colours with fringes and ornaments; others had them of other silks, such as satins and damask, and others of brocade from China and Persia[2]. Some of the men with the gilded plates had them set with many large precious stones, and on the borders lace-work of small stones. Some of these horses had on their foreheads heads of serpents and of other large animals of various kinds, made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make. The horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics[3], also of brocade and velvet and every kind of silk. These tunics are made of layers of very strong raw leather, and furnished with other iron (plates) that make them strong; some have these plates gilded both inside and out, and some are made of silver. Their headpieces are in the manner of helmets with borders covering the neck, and each has its piece to protect the face; they are of the same fashion as the tunics. They wear on the neck gorgets (*cofos* all gilded, others made of silk with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror. At the waists they have swords and small battle-axes, and in their hands javelins with the shafts covered with gold and silver. All have their umbrellas of state made of embroidered velvet and damask, with many coloured silks on the horses. They wave many (standards with) white and coloured tails and

1. The reins were not of leather, but of silk twisted into ropes. *Sewell, p. 265.*
2. *I read the word in the Ms. Xismel, and Mr. Lopes suggests that it stands for Sheik (Xeque) Ismail. If so, undoubtedly Persia is meant.* This is Sewell's opinion. Prof. Rouch reads it as "Pisael."
3. Best examples of quilted tunics can be seen on the sculptures of warriors mounted on horses and other (legendary) animals carved on the pillars in the SE maṇṭapa of Viṭhala temple at Hampi.

hold them in much esteem—which tails are horses' tails. The elephants in the same way are covered with caparison of velvet and gold with fringes, and rich cloths of many colours, and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts. On the back of each one of them are three or four men, dressed in their quilted tunics, and armed with shields and javelins, and they are arrayed as if for a foray. Then, turning to the troops on foot, there are so many that they surround all the valleys and hills in a way with which nothing in the world can compare. You will see amongst them dresses of such rich cloths that I do not know where they came from, nor could any one tell how many colours they have; shield-men with their shields, with many flowers of gold and silver on them, others with figures of tigers and other great beasts, others all covered with silver leaf-work beautifully wrought, others with painted colours, others black and *(so polished that)* you can see into them as into a mirror, and their swords so richly ornamented that they could not possibly be more so. Of the archers, I must tell you that they have bows plated with gold and silver, and others have them polished, and their arrows very neat, and so feathered that they could not be better; daggers at their waists and battle-axes, with the shafts and ends of gold and silver; then you see musqueteers with their musquets and blunderbusses and their thick tunics, all in their order with their....[1] in all their bravery; it was indeed a thing to see. Then the Moors—one must not forget them—for they were there also in the review with their shields, javelins and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles; and I was much astonished to find

1. Sewell writes: *Liões. The meaning is not clear.* But, Prof. Rouch proposes: according to their rank and bravery it was indeed....

amongst them men[1] who knew so well how to work these weapons.

The king leaves his palace riding on the horse of which I have already told you, clothed in the many rich white cloths I have mentioned, with two umbrellas of state all gilded and covered with crimsom velvet, and with the jewels and adornments which they keep for the purpose of wearing at such times: he who ever wears such jewels can understand the sort of things so great a lord would wear. Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have no words to express what I saw, and some hid from me the sight of others; and to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backwards off my horse with my senses lost. The cost of it all is not so much to be wondered at, as there is so much money in the land, and the chiefs are so wealthy.

There went in front of the king many elephants with their coverings and ornaments, as I have said; the king had before him some twenty horses fully caparisoned and saddled, with embroideries of gold and precious stones, that showed off well the grandeur and state of their lord. Close to the king went a cage[2] such as is seen at Lisbon on the day of the Corpo de Dios festival, and it was gilded and very large; it seemed to me to be made of copper or silver; it was carried by sixteen men, eight on each side, besides others who took their turns, and in it is carried the idol of

1. According to Prof. Rouch: "because these men are well disciplined in the way I have said".
2. A kind of small "maṇṭapa" used for carrying gods in processions.

which I have already spoken. Thus accompanied the king passed along gazing at his soldiers, who gave great shouts and cries and struck their shields; the horses neighed, the elephants screamed, so that it seemed as if the city would be overturned, the hills and valleys and all the ground trembled with the discharges of arms and musquets; and to see the bombs and fire-missiles over the plains, this was indeed wonderful. Truly it seemed as if the whole world collected there.

In this way it went on till the king arrived at the place where the tent was that I have already mentioned, and he entered this and performed his usual ceremonies and prayers. You must not think that when the king passed the troops moved from their positions, on the contrary they stood motionless in their places till the king returned. As soon as the king had finished his ceremonies he again took horse and returned to the city in the same way as he had come, the troops never wearying of their shouting; as soon as he passed by them they began to march. Then to see those who were on the hills and slopes, and the descent of them with their shouts and beating of shields and shaking of arrows and bows that were without count. Truly, I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision, and that I was in a dream. Then the troops began to march to their tents and pavilions in the plains[1] which were in great number; and all the captains accompanied the king as far as the palace, and thence departed to rest themselves from their labour.

Now I desire you to know that this king has continually a million fighting troops, in which are included 35.000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay, and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any

1. In the fields that is the area in which they were camped.

quarter whenever such may be necessary. I saw, being in this city of Bisnaga, the king despatch a force against a place, one of those which he has by the sea-coast; and he sent fifty captains with 150.000 soldiers, amongst whom were many cavalry. He has many elephants, and when the king wishes to show the strength of his power to any of his adversaries amongst the three kings bordering on his kingdom, they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which he is the most feared king of any in these parts. And although he takes away so many men from his kingdom, it must not be thought that the kingdom remains devoid of men; it is so full that it would seem to you as if he had never taken away a man, and this by reason of the many and great merchants that are in it. There are working people and all other kinds of men who are employed in business, besides those who are obliged to go into the field; there are also a great number of Brahmans. In all the land of the heathen there are these Brahmans; they are men who do not eat anything that suffers death; they have little stomach for the use of arms.

Should any one ask what revenues this king possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops, since he has so many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, the greater part of them, have themselves revenues, I answer thus: These captains whom he has over these troops of his are the nobles of his kingdom; they are lords, and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom; there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million a half [read million and million and a half] of *pardaos*[1], others a hundred

1. Varāha has become Pardao for Portuguese tongue. The coin was called "varāhagadyāṇa" then.

thousand *pardaos*, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand *pardaos*, and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse, and elephants[1]. These troops are always ready for duty, whenever they may be called out and wherever they may have to go; and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready. Each of these captains labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries; and in this review there were the finest young men possible to be seen or that ever could be seen, for in all this array I did not see a man that would act the coward[2]. Besides maintaining these troops, each captain has to make his annual payments to the king[3], and the king has his own salaried troops to whom he gives pay. He has eight hundred elephants attached to his person, and five hundred horses always in his stables, and for the expenses of these horses and elephants he has devoted the revenues that he receives from this city of Bisnaga. You may well imagine how great these expenses may be, and besides these that of the servants who have the care of the horses and elephants; and by this you will be able to judge what will be the revenue of this city.

This king of Bisnaga has five kings his subjects and vassals, besides other captains and lords having large territories and great revenues; whenever a son happens to be born to this king, or a daughter, all the nobles of the kingdom offer him great presents of money and jewels of price, and so they do to him every year on the day of his birth.

1. Sewell in note indicates:- *See Nuniz's chronicle chapter XXII.*
2. "I did not see any white man amongst the soldiers", Prof. Rouch.
3. "Besides, these soldiers, these captains have to pay every year tributes to the king," Prof. Rouch.

You must know that when these feasts of which I have spoken are ended, at the beginning of the month of October, when eleven of its days are past, they make great feasts, during which everyone puts on new, and rich, and handsome cloths, each one according to his liking, and all the captains give their men handsome cloths of many colours, each one having his own colour and device. On the same day they give great gifts of money to the king, it is even said that they give on that day to the king in money a million and five hundred thousands gold *pardaos*, and each *pardao* is worth three hundred and sixty *reis*[1] and from this you will be able to know how many *reis* there will be. I wish you to know that on this day begins their year, it is their New Year's Day[2], and for this they make the feast and give the gifts; and it is not to be wondered at, for we also do the same on New Year's Day. They begin the year in this month with the new moon,[3] and they count the months always from moon to moon.

And now I wish you to know that the previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or know what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings,[4] and he puts in it every

1. Res in the original.
2. Probably, Paes is speaking of Deepāvalī-festival of lights and New year's day for some class of people.
3. Paes is right. Lunar calendar is followed in Karnāṭaka even to-day.
4. The present king does not constitute his treasury like his ancestors, translates Prof. Rouch.

year ten million *pardaos*, without taking from them one *pardao* more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him twelve thousand women; from this you will be able to judge[1] how great is the richness of this kingdom, and how great the treasure that this king has amassed.

And if any one does not know what a *pardao* is, let him know that it is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck anywhere in India except in this kingdom; it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin is current all over India. Each *pardao*, as already said, is worth three hundred and sixty *reis*, (rees).

After all these things *(feasts)* had passed the king betook himself to the new city, of which I have already told you that he delights in it much because it was made and peopled by him, of which I have already told you. In two years the king built this city. The king was received by the citizens with great feasts, and the streets were hung with rich cloths, and with many triumphal arches under which he passed. In this city the king held another review of the troops of his guard, and he distributed pay to all because it was the beginning of the year, and it is their custom to pay salaries year by year. An inspection is held by the officers of his house, and they write down the name of each one, and the marks that he has on his face of body. There are men of the guard who have a thousand *pardaos* pay, and others eight hundred, others six hundred and more, and a little more or less; there is a difference, and also a difference in the persons. Some men of them who are of higher

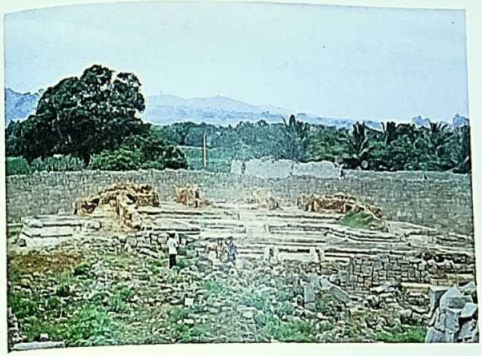
1. To know and not judge as Sewell puts it.

rank than others have two horses or three, and others have no more than one. These troops have their captains, and each captain goes with his guard to mount guard at the palace according to order and custom; the king has in his guard five hundred horse, and these watch outside the palace armed with their weapons. There are two watches inside, and people with swords and shields.

The king, then, being in his new city, as I have said, Christovao de Figueiredo begged him of his kindness that he would permit him to be shown the palace of the city of Bisnaga, forasmuch as there had come with him many Portuguese who had never been in Bisnaga, and they would rejoice to see it, in order to have somewhat to tell on their return to their own lands, whenever god should take them there. The king at once commanded that they should be shown certain of his residences, for that of his wives no one ever sees. As soon as we had returned to the city of Bisnaga, the governor of that place, who is called Gamdarajo[1], and is brother of Salvatinica, showed us the palace.

You must know that on entering that gate of which I have spoken, by which the ladies serving the king's wives make their exit when they come to the feast, opposite to it there is another of the same kind. Here they bade us stand still, and they counted us how many we were, and as they counted they admitted us one by one to a small courtyard with a smoothly plastered floor, and with very white walls around it. At the end of this courtyard, opposite this gate by which we entered, is another close to it on the left hand, and another which was closed; the door opposite belongs to the king's residence. At the entrance of this door outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner,

1. The *"Guandaja"* of Nuniz See next chronicle chapter XVIII, Sewell's note.



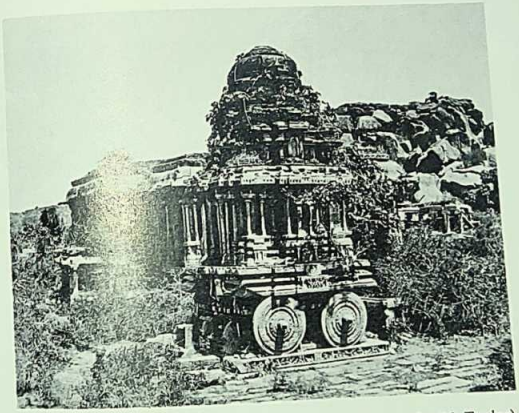
Hampi in ruins

Construction of walls - without any plaster or mortar

Crossing the river

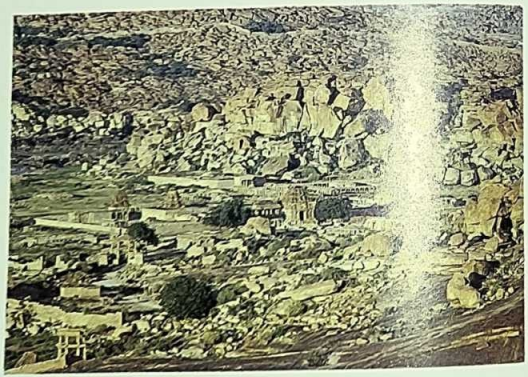
Viṭhala temple with musical pillarettes

Viṭhala temple (*Source*: Architecture of Dharwar by M. Taylor)
(*Courtesy*: Royal Asiatic Society, London)



Stone Chariot (*Source*: Architecture of Dharwar by M. Taylor)
(*Courtesy*: Royal Asiatic Society, London)

Kulāya: Colae as mentioned by the chroniclers. Kulāya is used by the priests who do the "ariar seve" in the Celuva Nārāyaṇa temple at Melukoṭe, Mandya district, Karnataka.



Vithalapura general view

which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king, and the one on the left is of this king. The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive[1]. Afterwards, wishing to pass in at this door, they again counted us, and after they had finished counting us we entered a little house which contained what I shall now relate.

As soon as you are inside, on the left hand, are two chambers[2] one above the other, which are in this manner: the lower one is below the level of the ground, with two little steps which are covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say "gilded" but "lined" inside), and outside it is dome-shaped. It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work[3] over which is a work of rubies and diamonds and all other kinds of precious stones, and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone-work is in heart-shapes, and, interweaved between one and another, is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome[4] are pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the

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1. This passage reminds us of a scene in the drama "Pratimā" by Bhāsa.
2. In the text there is a word which means vault. Sewell has translated it as "dome shaped". To me it looks that Paes speaks of a building which is now known as "lotus mahal" in the ruins. As the building is in Indo-saracenic style it has domes.
3. "It has a squarish porch with half columns or pillarettes decorated with."...For "Feyto de huas meyas canas" Prof. Rouch suggests that perhaps the porch must have been made of bamboo split length-wise into two to be used as door-jambs.
4. Wherever Sewell had translated as "dome" Prof. Rouch gives in French "voûte" which means "vault or arch". I feel his suggestion is more correct as Paes is describing the inner parts of the monument.

porch, the cross-bars covered with gold, and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all round it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering. Of the chamber above it I shall not say if it held anything because I did not see it, but only the one below on the right side. In this house there is a room with pillars of carved stone[1]; this room is all of ivory, as well the chamber as the walls, from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers[2] at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better—it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such. On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars. In this house are two thrones[3] covered with gold, and a cot of silver with its curtains. Here I saw a little slab of green jasper, which is held for a great thing in this house. Close to where this jasper is, i.e., underneath some arches where is the entrance into the palace, there is a little door closed with some padlocks: they told us that inside it there was a treasury of one of the former kings.

As soon as we left this house we entered a courtyard as large as an arena for beast-fights,[4] very well plastered

1. Carved wood, says Prof. Rouch because according to him the "maçanaria" means wood work and not stone as Sewell proposes.
2. Sewell's translation is a little obscure. There is no term "cross-timber "as such in the text. Prof. Rouch suggests: "This room is all of ivory, the chamber as well as the walls, and above like below. The entablature above the pillars was ornamented with roses and lotus flowers, all in ivory."
3. Not thrones but chairs, says Prof. Rouch.
4. Prof. Rouch translates as follows: "On coming out of this house we entered in to a 'patio' or a *toṭṭi* as big as a cross-bow game nicely

and almost in the middle are some pillars of wood, with a cross beam at the top all covered with copper gilt, and in the middle four chains of silver links with hooks which are caught one into the other; this serves for a swing for the wives of the king. At the entrance of this courtyard on the right hand we mounted four or five steps and entered some beautiful houses made in the way I have already told you-for their houses are single-storeyed houses with flat roofs on top, although on top there may be other houses; the plan is good, and they are like terraces. There is a building there built on many pillars[1], which are of stone-work, and so also is all the work of the roof, with all the rest of wood (*maneria*), and all the pillars with all the other work are gilded so that they seem as if covered with gold.

Then at the entrance of this building in the middle nave, there is, standing on four pillars[2], a canopy covered with many figures of dancing-women, besides other small

plastered mortar." From this version we can imagine well a house which must be resembling that of Mysore palace or "toṭṭimane" or "arasumane" a few old houses mostly in a very sad state, standing here and there escaping the cruel eyes of multi-storied building contractors in Mysore.

1. From here, Figueiredo and others must have entered a temple complex and in my opinion it must be Vithala temple. As I go on reading these passages I strongly feel that the visitors are in Vithala temple which was very dear to the king because of his preceptor Vyāsarāya a great devotee of god Viṭhala/Viṣṇu.
2. If our hypothesis is correct and the visitors are in the temple of Viṭhala then the building in question must be the stone *ratha* or chariot in the temple premises. This is a small shrine dedicated to god Garuḍa, vehicle of Viṣṇu. As Viṭhala is another form of Viṣṇu it is but natural to have a shrine for Garuḍa. It is on four wheels but the copyist might have made a correction in the original and written four pillars. Besides, there are images of dancing women etc. underside of the lower auvent or "chejja" where ancient paintings on sculptures still to be seen.

figures which are placed in the stone-work. All this is also gilded, and has some red colour on the under-sides of the leaves which stand out from the sculpture. You must know that they make no use of this building because it belongs to their idol and to the temple. At the end of this is a little closed door where the idol is. Whenever they celebrate any festival of this idol, they carry it on a golden throne and put it underneath that canopy which is made for that purpose; and then come the Brahmans to perform their ceremonies there, and the dancing-girls come to dance.

Descending from this building, we passed on the left side of the courtyard, and we entered a corridor which runs the whole length of it, in which we saw some things. On entering the corridor was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains; the cot had feet made of bars of gold, so well made that they could not be better, and the cross-bars of the cot were covered with gold. In front of this cot was a chamber where was another cot suspended in the air by chains of gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones, and the cross bars were covered with gold. Above this chamber was another, smaller, and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted. Passing this chamber, along the same corridor in front was a chamber which this king commanded to be made; on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons. They had begun to paint this chamber, and they told us that it had to be finer than the others, and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well the ground below as all the rest. Passing this corridor and mounting up into another which is higher, we saw at one end three caldrons of gold[1], so large that in each one they could cook half a cow,

1. This must be the temple kitchen which our visitor is speaking of. Every temple had a big kitchen and sometimes two, can be made out from the remaining traces in the ruins of Hampi.

and with them were others, very large ones, of silver, and also little pots of gold and some large ones. Thence we went up by a little staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner. This hall is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture on pillars, which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall; between one and another is an arm's length and a half, perhaps a little more. These pillars stand in that manner all around the building; they are half-pillars[1](?) made with other hollows (?) all gilt. In the supports or pedestals on the top are many great beasts like elephants, and of there shapes; it is open so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back,[2] and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar is a cross-bar (the architrave) which is like a panel, and from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men, too, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work

1. In the times of Kṛṣṇarāya began a new way of carving composite pillars. Small pillarettes were detached from the same monolithic column. The composite pillar is always monolithic. Its projections, carved out in the same mass of stone, are a kind of reinforcemen..." writes P.S. Filliozat in Hampi-Vijayanagar, p. 32.

2. The maṇḍapa in the SE corner of Viṭhala temple premises has pillars of this type with figures of men seated back to back. The central part of the ceiling is a little more elevated than the rest in order to hold a beautifully hewn boulder with shallow depression which gives the impression of a dome. Paintings in this maṇṭapa are still visible here and there.

gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with their designs from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span as it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like plates (*a maneyra de lamines*), all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces[1]; but the other images seated on the elephants, as well as those on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums[2] (tom-toms).

The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of that dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end, on the right, in the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold, and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance.

1. Not pink but flesh-tint says Prof. Rouch. Something like cream colour.
2. Kettledrum says Prof. Rouch.

They did not show us more than this. The residence of the women no one may see except the eunuchs, of whom I have already told you. From here we returned by the way we had entered to the second gate, and there they again counted us.

Of the city of Bisnaga they say that there are more than a hundred thousand dwelling houses in it, all one-storeyed and flat-roofed, to each of which there is a low surrounding wall, and in this city the king lives most of the time. On the north side are rocky hills; a river runs between them, and the wall runs along the top of them, and on the farther side is a city called Nagumdym[1]; and it has only three gates, namely one by the river, which they cross in boats embarking just at this gate[2]; one on the other side which is to the north, this is a stronger gate; and one on the north west side, a little gate between two very high ridges; and it is such a bad road that only horse-man can pass out a time.

And on the north-west side (of Bisnaga) is another city called Crisnapor (Krishnâpura, where are the ruins of a fine Kṛṣṇa temple) connected with Bisnaga, in which are all their pagodas, those in which they most worship, and all the revenue of this city is granted to them; and they say that they have a revenue of a hundred thousand *pardaos* of gold. The pagodas are high and have great buildings with many figures of men and women,

1. Once again the author repeats some facts which he had related already. The river is Tungabhadrā and the town Ānegondi on the other side of it.
2. This is Talārighaṭṭa or Talavārakaṭṭe and a gate leading to Ānegondi is on the northern bank of the river. Boat service is still done here by the descendants of those who were in the service of the kings. They are still in possession of some documents regarding land grants received by their ancestors from the rulers.

all in lascivious attitudes[1].

On the south side is the other city called Nagalapor[2] in a plain; in it the Ydalcão stopped with all his forces when he besieged Bisnaga, and he razed it to the ground; but already it is again rebuilt, and this is a league from Bisnaga.

On the east side is another city called Ardegema[3], which is the name of the principal wife of this king, and it is new, and he built it for love of her[4].

1. There are no such lascivious attitudes in the temple of Kṛṣṇa whereas in the temple of Tiruveṅgalanātha, wrongly known as Acyutarāya temple, there are a few in NW maṇḍapa.
2. From the inscriptions, we know that Nagalāpura now known as Nāgēnahaḷḷi was built by King Kṛṣṇarāya in honour of his mother in the year 1516; S I I vol. IX, pt. ii, no. 504. From other sources we know that (Ydalcao) Ādilkhan besieged Vijayanagar after the death of the king, in the days of Acyutarāya. In that case it is difficult to accept the facts mentioned by Paes as events occurring during the days of Kṛṣṇarāya.
3. The city to the east is called Varadājammana paṭṭaṇa. This was built by King Acyutarāya, half brother of Kṛṣṇarāya who succeeded him in 1529-30. Varadājamma was the name of the principal queen for whose love the city was built by the king.
4. Sewell also thinks rightly that the last four paragraphs must have been interpolations. In the beginning of the chronicle there is a letter to a person, probably a historian based in Lisbon who was writing the history of Vijayanagar and India. So, the copyist who was in correspondence with the historian was more aware of the facts with regard to the history of this kingdom. Consequently, he had added what all he knew without taking into consideration the chronology of facts mentioned in chronicles. That is the reason why I feel that at times the copyist had made some corrections in the texts of chroniclers. These two chronicles were not published, unlike others, "certainly, it may be true that the accounts of Paes and Nuniz were circulated in Europe as manuscripts" writes Lach Donald in *India in the eyes of Europe*, p. 371. If this is the case, then the authenticity of many facts mentioned in the chronicles are subject to be questioned.

CHRONICLE OF FERNAO NUNIZ

(WRITTEN, PROBABLY, A.D 1535-37)

CHAPTER I

Copy and Summary of a Chronicle of the kings of Bisnaga, who reigned (orig. were) from the era one thousand two hundred and thirty, which was after the general destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga.

In the year twelve hundred and thirty[1] these parts of India were ruled by a greater monarch than had ever reigned. This was the King of Dili,[2] who by force of arms and soldiers made war on Cambaya for many years, taking and destroying in that period the land of Guzarate which belongs to Cambaya, and in the end he became its lord.

And this taken, not being content with the victory which he had already gained, he made ready a large army of foot and horse, and determined to make war on the King of Bisnaga, leaving his captains in his lands and fortresses to defend themselves against his enemies, of whom there were many; for this King was at that time at war with

1. Sewell has not understood properly the statements here. Nuniz had noted down word by word what his informants have told him, i.e. the facts and figures according to the Indian calendar. Neither Nuniz nor his informant were aware of the difference of seventy eight years between the Christian calendar and Śaka eras. The date recorded by Nuniz is correct. It was in the year Śaka 1230 that the king of Delhi waged wars in the South and this is a historical fact.
2. Delhi is spelt in different fashions: Dilli, Delly etc.

Bemgalla,[1] and with the Turkomans[2] on the confines of the country of Sheikh Ismael. These men are fair and large of body; in their lands are many horses with which this King of Delly made war on Cambaya and laid it waste; and after the country was taken and he lord of it, there still remained to him as many as eight hundred thousand horsemen with whom he passed on to Bisnaga; of the number of people on foot nothing is said here because no one counted them.

And, determining to make war on the King of Bisnaga and to reduce him under his rule, he passed out of the lands which he had newly gained, entering into those of the King of Bisnaga, which at that time were many; and quitting the kingdom of Cambaya, he began to invade and make war on the Ballagate, whose lands now belong to the Idalão (*Adil Khan or Ādil Shah*), taking and destroying many towns and places in such a way that the people of country surrendered to him their persons and property, though he left to them their weapons which he could not prevent their carrying.

And after he had become lord of all the country of the Ballagate, he passed the river of Duree,[3] which forms the boundary of the territories of the Ballagate and of those of the King of Bisnaga, which river he passed in basket-boats without finding any one to oppose the passage. Up to that time, in all that was (afterwards) the kingdom of Bisnaga, no place was populated save only the city of Nagumdym, in which the King of Bisnaga then was, awaiting his (its) destruction, since it was strong, and because he possessed

1. Bengal.
2. Persia says Sewell.
3. Sewell identifies the river with Malaprabhā and Duree with Dharwar. It is difficult to accept his identifications as Malaprabhā is a small river and never served as boundary to the said kingdom. The river may be Kṛṣṇā.

no other citadel but that, which was his Lisbon.

And from the river which that King of Delly passed in basket-boats, to that city was twenty-five leagues, all being open country (*campos*); and in them it seemed good to him to pitch his camp, so that his people might drink of the water in the plain (*campos*) along the length of the river. At that time there was great drought by reason of the summer season, and the waters of the few little lakes that were in the plain would not suffice for ten days for his troops, horses and elephants, without drying up; and for that reason he halted some days by the banks of that river, till rain fell in the fields and lakes, enough for such a large army as he had brought with him.

And when the time came he raised his camp and brought his array to a halt in sight of that city of Nagundy.

And then King of Bisnaga, seeing his great power and how many troops he had brought with him, determined to abandon the city, which was very difficult to enter; close to which was, and now is, a river which is called Nagundy,[1] whence the city is called Nagundy, and they say the city had its name because of it. And he fled for shelter to a fortress called Crynamata,[2] which was by the bank of the

1. It is difficult to make out what Nuniz wants to say. If Nagundy is identified with Ānegondi then the problem is about the name of the river. There is no such river which goes by the name Nagundy. Also Nuniz says that the place got its name because of the river. If that is the case, then it is applicable to Hampi because in Rāmāyaṇa the river Tuṅgabhadrā is called Paṃpā. The original name of Hampi is Paṃpā. So, Nuniz's informant must have told him how the name of Hampi is related with the river. And, Nuniz being a foreigner to these names and stories has made a confused narration, I think. As the events he is relating took place prior to the beginning of the new empire probably the narrator also must have added to the confusion.
2. *Kummaṭa*, says Sewell.

river, and which contained much provision and water; but not enough for the sustenance of so many people as he had with him, as many as fifty thousand men. Therefore the King chose five thousand men with their property and took refuge in the fortress; and for the rest he made them betake themselves to another fortress of his in another part of his kingdom.

And being sheltered in the fortress, after he had taken order about his provisions, he was beset on all sides by the King of the people of Dely who had already up to this time been at war with him for twelve years[1]; over which siege little time was spent, because the people that were inside the fortress were numerous, and in a little space had consumed their provisions.

Then the King of Bisnaga, seeing the determination of the soldiers of the King of Delly that they would never leave the place without making an end of those whom he had with him in the fortress, made a speech to them all, laying before them the destruction that the King of the troops of Delly had caused in his own kingdoms; and how, not content with that, he had besieged this fortress, so that now there was nothing for them to look to but death, since already there was no water in the fortress nor anything left to eat. And (he said) that of the fifty thousand men who had been in the city of Nagundy he had chosen them alone as his companions and true friends, and he begged of them that they would hold fast in death to the loyalty which they had borne him in their lives; for he hoped that day to give battle to the King of Delly. Then he said that already there remained to him of his kingdom and lordship nothing but that fortress and the people that were in it, and so he asked

1. With whom was the ruler at war for twelve years? Once again the confusing statement made by Nuniz does not help to have a clear picture of the history.

them to arm themselves and die with him in battle, giving their lives to the enemy who had deprived them of all their lands.

All of them were very content and glad at this, and in a short space were all armed; and after they were so the King made them another speech, saying: "Before we join battle we have to wage another war with our sons and daughters and wives, for it will not be good that we should allow them to be taken for the use of our enemies." And the King said, "I will be the first to deal with my wife and sons." At this time they were all standing in a large open space which was before the citadel, and there by the hand of the King were slain over fifty of his wives and some sons and little daughters; and the same was done with their own hands by all who had wives and sons that could not fight.

When these nuptial feasts, so abhorred of all, were fulfilled, they opened the gates of the fortress, and their enemies forthwith entered, and slew all of them except six old men[1] who withdrew to a house. These were made captive and were taken before the King (of Delhi), and the King asked them who they were and how they had escaped, and they told them who they were; at which the King greatly rejoiced, because one of them was the minister of the kingdom and another the treasurer, and the others were leading officers in it. They were questioned by the King concerning the treasures of the King of Bisnaga, and such riches as were buried in the vaults[2] of the fortress were delivered up to him; they also gave him an account of the revenues of the kingdom of Bisnaga at that time. When all was known to the King he delivered them to one

1. The number of prisoners stated by Nuniz does not tally with that of Battûta and Ferishta.
2. Buried inside the fortress, translates Prof. Rouch.

of his captains, and commanded to make over the bodies of the dead to another captain, and gave orders that the bodies should be burned; and the body of the king, at the request of those six men, was conveyed very honourably to the city of Nagundy. From that time forward that place became a burying-place of the kings. Amongst themselves they still worship this King as a saint[1].

1. I feel that this is an allusion to the story of Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kummaṭa.

CHAPTER II

Of what the King (of Delhi) did after he had slain the King of Bismaga, and entirely overthrown him, and seized his lands for himself, none being left to defend them.

As soon as the King had thus fulfilled all his desires, he bade his captains destroy some villages and towns which had risen against him, and give security to those who sought it of him. After the death of the (Hindu) King he[1] stayed in that fortress two years, having already for twelve waged war on the kingdom. He was far from his home, which was more than five hundred leagues distant; and, his forces being all scattered, news came to him how that all the land which was first gained by him had rebelled. As soon as this was known to the King he sent to collect his people, leaving in this fortress, which was the strongest in the kingdom, abundant provisions for its defence in all circumstances; and he left, for captain and governor of the kingdom. Enybiquymelly[2], a Moor, and with him he left many troops, showing much kindness to each one of them separately, giving to each lavish gifts and lands in such a way that all were content, and,

1. "After the death of this king, he (the king of Delhi) stayed for two years in that fortress. Already for twelve years he was waging wars on this kingdom", writes Prof. Rouch.
2. *Spelt below "Meliquy niby" and "Melique neby" evidently for Mallik Naib, the kings deputy.* See p. 284 in Sewell's.

abandoning forthwith all hope of returning to their own country, made there their homes[1].

1. "....giving to each lavish gifts and lands in such a way that all were content and abandoning forthwith all hope of returning to their own land, they adopted this one," Prof. Rouch.

CHAPTER III

How the king of Dily departed with his troops, and took to his kingdom the six captives that he had taken in the fortress, &c.

The king having departed to his own kingdom in consequence of the news that had been brought to him, leaving the kingdom of Bisnaga in the power of Meliquy niby, when it was known throughout the country how he was out of it, those who had escaped to the mountains, with others who, against their will and through fear had taken oaths of fealty for their towns and villages, rose against the captain Mileque neby, and came to besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go in to him, nor paying him the taxes that had been forced on them. And Meliquy niby, seeing how little profit he could get in this country, and how badly he was obeyed, and how far off was the succour sent by his lord the King, sent quickly to him to tell him how all the land was risen against him, and how every one was lord of what he pleased, and no one was on his side; and that His Highness should decide what he thought best to be done in such case. And when the King heard this news he took counsel, telling the great people of the realm of the letter and message which he had from Melinebiquy, his captain and governor of the kingdom of Bisnaga, and how badly the lords of the land obeyed him; so that each one was king and lord over whomsoever he pleased, as soon as he acquired any power, there being no justice amongst them, nor any one whom they wished to obey.

What was it seemed best to them (he asked), and what in such case ought they, and could they, do, so that he should not lose so fair a territory and one so rich, the seizure of which had cost such labour, so much money, and the lives of so many of their fellows? All the councillors decided that the King should command the presence of the six men whom he held captive, and that he should learn from them who was at that time the nearest of kin, or in any way related to the Kings of Bisnaga; and, this questioning done, no one was found to whom by right the kingdom could come, save to one of the six whom he held captive, and this one he who at the time of the destruction of Bisnaga had been minister of the kingdom. He was not related by blood to the kings, but only was the principal judge[1]; but (it seemed) good that His Highness should give the kingdom to that one. And this advice pleased the King and them all.

At once the six captives were released and set at liberty, and many kindnesses and honours were done to them, and the governor was raised to be King and the treasurer to be governor;[2] and he took from them oaths and pledges of their fealty as vassals; and they were at once despatched and sent to their lands with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury. And when these six men had thus finished their journey to the city of Nagundy, they found only the ruined basements of the houses, and places peopled by a few poor folk.

1. In the original it is "justiça mayor" supreme magistrate.
2. *According to Prof. Rouch's translation: "Soon the six captives were released and freed. Many favours and honours were made to them. The minister was raised to the royal level whereas the treasurer occupied the place of that of the minister". This translation appears to be closer to the original text.*

In a short time the arrival of Deorao[1] (for so he was called) was known in all the country, and how he had been exalted to be King, with which the people were well content, as men who had felt so deeply their subjection to a lord not of their own faith; and from this man have descended all those who have reigned up to now. And they made great feasts for him, and delivered up to him the lands taken by former kings and lost to them, and he was obeyed as King. And when the captain Meliquy niby became aware of this, he was very pleased and contented, and delivered up to him the fortress and kingdom as the King his lord had commanded; and making himself ready with all speed he departed, leaving the land to its proper owner. And after he had gone, King Deorao, entering on his rule, strove to pacify the people and those who had revolted, and to make them safe, and he did them many kindness so as to secure their good-will, and travelled about their fortresses and towns. He abandoned the lost lands since he knew that he could not regain them, having no army or forces for such a work, nor any cause for which he could make war; and also because he was very old.

1. Deorao or Devaraya,General title of Vijayanagara kings. "This first king is given *no personal name by Nuniz. There were afterwards two kings who are known to history by the names Deva Râya I and Deva Râya II, with no personal name prefixed."* Sewell, p. 286.

CHAPTER IV

How the City of Bisnaga was built by that King Dehorao.

The king going one day a hunting, as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river of Nagumdym, where now is the city of Bisnaga,—which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place, and which the King had reserved for his own amusement,—being in it with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase, a hare rose up before him, which, instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared go near it for the harm that it did them. And seeing this, the King, astonished at so feeble a thing biting dogs which had already caught for him a tiger and a lion, judged it to be not really a hare but (more likely) some prodigy; and he at once turned back to the city of Nagumdym.

And arriving at the river, he met a hermit who was walking along the bank, a man holy among them, to whom he told what had happened concerning the hare. And the hermit, wondering at it, said to the King that he should turn back with him and shew him the place where so marvelous a thing had happened; and being there, the hermit said that the King ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world, and that it would never be captured by his enemies, and would be the chief city in the kingdom. And so the King did, and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed the

city round about; and that done he left Nagumdym and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name Vydiajuna,[1] for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him construct it; but in course of time this name has become corrupted, and it is now called Bisnaga. And after that hermit was dead the King raised a very grand temple[2] in honour of him and gave much revenue to it. And ever since, in his memory, the Kings of Bisnaga, on the day when they are raised to be kings, have, in honour of the hermit, to enter this house before they enter their own; and they offer many prayers in it, and celebrate many feasts there every year.

This King Dehorao reigned seven years, and did nothing therein but pacify the kingdom, which he left in complete tranquility.

By his death one called Bucarao (*Bukkarāya* or Bukka I) inherited the kingdom, and he conquered many lands which at the time of the destruction of that kingdom remained rebellious, and by him they were taken and turned to his power and lordship; and he took the kingdom of Orya, which is very great; it touches on Bemgalla. He reigned thirty-seven years, being not less feared than esteemed, and obeyed by all in his kingdom.

On the death of that King Bucarao there came to the throne his son called Pureoyre Deorao (*Harihadēvarāya* or Harihara II) which in Canara means "powerful lord" and he coined a money of *pardaos* which even now they call "puroure deorào"; and from that time forward it has

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1. *This was the great Sringêri Guru, Mâdhavâchârya, surnamed Vidyâranya or "forest of learning". This derivation of the name of that city is very common, but is believed to be erroneous.* Sewell, p. 287.

2. Sewell identifies this temple with Vīrūpākṣa at Hampi. But, his identification is incorrect. The temple built in honour of the sage was not at Hampi but at Kigga near Śṁgēri in Kaḍūr district.

become a custom to call coins by the names of the kings that made them; and it is because of this that there are so many names of *pardaos* in the kingdom of Bisnaga. And this King in his time did nothing more than leave at his death as much conquered country as his father had done.

This King had a son who by his death inherited the kingdom, who was called Ajaráo[1] (Vijayarāya); and he reigned forty-three years, in which time he was always at war with the Moors; and he took Goa, and chaul, and Dabull, and Ceillao (*Ceylon*) and all the country of Charamandell, which had also rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom, and he did many other things which are not recorded here.

This King made in the city of Bisnaga many walls and towers[2] and enclosed it anew. Now the city at that time was of no use, there being no water in it by which could be raised gardens and orchards, except the water of the Nagumdym which was far from it, for what water there was in the country was all brackish and allowed nothing to grow; and the King, desiring to increase that city and make it the best in the kingdom, determined to bring to it a very large river which was at a distance of five leagues away, believing that it would cause much profit if brought inside the city. And so he did, damming the river itself with great boulders; and according to story he threw in a stone so great that it alone made the river follow the King's will. It was dragged thither by a number of elephants of which there are many in the kingdom; and the water so brought he carried through such parts of the city as he pleased.

1. The name Ajarao can be identified with Vijaya Bukkarāya or Bukka II but he did not rule for forty-three years. In fact, no king in the course of this history ruled for a period of forty years or more.
2. For the number and names of towers and gates see recent publications on Vijayanagara, Progress of Research from 1984-87, 87-88.

This water proved of such use to the city that it increased his revenue by more than three hundred and fifty thousand *pardaos*. By means of this water they made round about the city a quantity of gardens and orchards and great groves of trees and vineyards, of which this country has many, and many plantations of lemons and oranges and roses, and other trees which in this country bear very good fruit. But on this turning of the river they say the King spent all the treasure that had come to him from the king his father, which was a very great sum of money.

This King left a son at his death called Visarao (*Vijaya Rao*) who inherited the kingdom on the death of his father; and he lived six years, and during this time did nothing worth relating.

At his death he left a son called Deorao (Dēvarāya), who reigned twenty-five years. He determined to collect great treasures, but owing to constant warfare he could not gain more than eight-hundred and fifty millions of gold,[1] not counting precious stones. This was no great sum, seeing that in his time the King of Coullão (*Quilon*), and Ceyllão (Ceylon), and Paleacate (*Pulicat*),[2] and Peguu and Tanacary (*Tenasserim*) and many other countries, paid tribute to him.

At his death this King left a son who inherited the kingdom, who was called Pinaráo (*Cikka Râya*) he reigned twelve years, and was a great astrologer; he was given much to letters, and made many books and (promulgated) ordinances in his land and kingdom. As long as he reigned

1. Sewell has given a rough meaning to "conto de ouro" in the original. One conto is equal to one million; conto de ouro : one million of cruzados; one cruzados weighs 3.51 grs of gold., Prof. Rouch.
2. Sewell identified Paleacate with Pulicat near Madras. This was an important province of Vijayanagar in later years, he writes. I do not know far it is correct because the author says that they were countries who paid tributes to the king.

he had twenty ministers which is an office that āmongst these (people) is (generally) held only by one person. This King was very wise; he was well versed in all his duties, and possesses such good talents and qualities that they called him Pinaráo,[1] which amongst them, in the language of Canara, means a very wise man. This King was killed by treason by the hand of a nephew whom he had brought up in his house like a son, who thus caused the death of the King[2]. The nephew resolved to marry, and for the feasts at his wedding he prayed the King his uncle, that he would command that he should be attended and honoured at his wedding by the King's own son; and the King, for the love that he bore him and the pleasure that he had in honouring him, bade his son make ready with his following, and sent him with the ministers and captains of his court to attend and honour the wedding of his nephew. And he, making all ready, as soon as they were in his house, being at table, they were all slain by daggers thrust by men kept in readiness for that deed. This was done without any one suspecting it, because the custom there is to place on the table all that there is to eat and drink, no man being present to serve those who are seated, nor being kept outside, but only those who are going to eat; and because of their thus being alone at table, nothing of what passed could be known to the people they had brought with them. And

1. Probably, because of the king's good talents and qualities, the informant must have told Nuniz that the king was "puṇyātma or Puṇyarāya" a meritorious person or a person with many meritorious actions at his credit. Nuniz, being a foreigner, did not catch the inner meaning of the expression.

2. *Abdur Razzâk relates the same story and fixes the event as having taken place between November 1442 and April 1443 A.D. "while he was in Calicut.* Sewell. p. 290n. Razâk no doubt mentions an event which happened while he was in Calicut and the modern historians propose the date as 1442-43. See our Introduction.

after he had killed the King's son with all the captains, the minister set out to ride as if he were going to bear a present to the King, and as soon as he arrived at the gates of the palace he sent a message to the King saying that he was there, and had brought him a present according to custom. And the King, being at that time at leisure and amusing himself with his wives, bade him enter; and as soon as he was come to where he stood, he presented to the King a golden bowl in which he had placed a dagger steeped in poison, with which he wounded him in many places; but the King, as he was a man who knew how to use both sword and dagger better than any one in his kingdom, avoided by twists and turns of his body the thrusts aimed at him, freed himself from him, and slew him with a short sword that he had. And this done he ordered a horse to be saddled, and mounted it, and rode holding his nephew's head in his hand; and he took the road to the latter's house, apprehending that treason might have been wrought and fearing that his son might be dead. And as soon as he arrived he beheld the treason in very deed, and how wicked a deed his nephew had done; seeing that his son and his principal captains were dead, and that the traitor might have prevailed against himself had he had the power. In great wrath the King commanded his men to inflict dreadful punishments on all found guilty of this treason, and indeed many who were not so. He himself remained grievously wounded with the poisoned wounds and he lasted only six months, and these ended, died of the poison carried on the dagger.

After his death a son remained to him who inherited the kingdom and was called...,(*sic in orig*) and this King, as soon as he began to reign, sent to call his treasurers and the minister and the scribes of his household, and inquired of them the revenue of his kingdom, and learned how much

revenue came in yearly; and His Highness had every year thirteen millions of gold. This King granted to the pagodas a fifth part of the revenue of his kingdom; no law is possible in the country where these pagodas are, save only the law of the Brahmans, which is that of the priests; and so the people suffer.

On the death of this King succeeded a son named Verupacarao (*Virūpākṣarāya*). As long as he reigned he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink and amuse himself, and never showed himself either to his captains or to his people; so that in a short time he lost that which his forefathers had won and left to him. And the nobles of the kingdom, seeing the habits and life of this king, rebelled, every one of them, each holding to what he possessed, so that in his time the King lost Goa, and Chaull, and Dabull, and the other chief lands of the realm. This King in mere sottishness slew many of his captains. Because he dreamed one night that one of his captains entered his chamber, on the next day he had him called, telling him that he had dreamed that night that the captain had entered his room to kill him; and for that alone he had him put to death. This King had two sons already grown up, who, seeing the wickedness of their father and how he had lost his kingdom, determined to kill him, as in fact was done by one of them, the elder, who was his heir; and after he had killed him, when they besought him to be King, he said, "Although this kingdom may be mine by right, I do not want it because I killed my father and did therein that which I ought not to have done, and have committed a mortal sin, and for that reason it is not well that such an unworthy son should inherit the kingdom. Take my brother and let him govern it since he did not stain his hands with his father's blood;" which was done, and the younger brother was raised to the throne.

And when they had entrusted the kingdom to him he was advised by his minister and captains that he should slay his brother, because, as the latter had killed his father so he would kill him if desirous of so doing; and as it appeared to the King that such a thing might well be, he determined to kill him and this was at once carried out, and he slew him with his own hand. So that this man truly met the end that those meet with who do such ill deeds. This King was called Padearáo[1]; and after this was done he gave himself up to the habits of his father, and, abandoning himself to his women, and not seeking to know ought regarding his realm save only the vices in which he delighted, he remained for the most part in the city.

One of his captains who was called Narsymgua,[2] who was in some manner akin to him, seeing his mode of life, and knowing how ill it was for the kingdom that he should live and reign, though all was not yet lost, determined to attack him and seize on his lands; which scheme he at once put into force.

He wrote, therefore, and addressed the captains and chiefs of the kingdom, saying how bad it was for them not to have a king over them who could govern properly, and how it would be no wonder, seeing the manner of his life, if the King soon lost by his bad government even more than his father had done.

He made great presents to all of them so as to gain their goodwill, and when he had thus attached many

1. Padearào can be identified with Prouḍharāya. There were two Prouḍharayas who ruled over the Kamāṭaka empire. One was Dēvarāya II and the other, his son Immaḍi Prauḍharāya or Mallikārjuna. But, as the story related by Nuniz is far from true historical facts it is difficult to identify who this Padearào is?

2. *Narasimha*, Sewell. Now Nuniz introduces Sāḷva or Sāḷuva Narasiṃha. What Nuniz tells further is neither attested by epigraphs nor by literary sources.

people to himself he made ready to attack Bisnaga where the King dwelt. When the King was told of the uprising of this captain Narsymgua how he was approaching and seizing his lands and how many people were joining him, he seemed unmindful of the loss he had suffered, he gave no heed to it nor made ready, but, instead, he only ill-treated him who had brought the news. So that a captain of the army of this Narsymgua arrived at the gates of Bisnaga, and there was not a single man defending the place; and when the King was told of his arrival he only said that it could not be. Then the captain entered the city, and the King only said that it could not be. Then he even entered his palace and came as far as the doors of his chamber, slaying some of the women. At last the King believed, and seeing now how great was the danger, he resolved to flee by the gates on the other side; and so he left his city and palaces, and fled.

When it was known by the captain that the King had fled he did not trouble to go after him, but took possession of the city and of the treasures which he found there; and he sent to acquaint his lord, Narsymgua. And after that Narsymgua was raised to be king[1]. And as he had much power and was beloved by the people, thenceforward this kingdom of Bisnaga was called the kingdom of Narsymgua.

After he was raised to be king and was obeyed he came to Bisnaga, where he did many acts of justice; and he took the territories from, whomsoever had, contrary to right taken them from the king. This King reigned forty-four years[2], and at his death left all the kingdom in peace,

1. Nuniz says that he was raised to be king by them. In that case where is the question of usurpation? Sewell should not have said about "usurpation".
2. If Sāḷuva Narasiṃha is meant here then Nuniz is wrong because the king did not rule for forty-four years although he served the kingdom for forty-four years.

and he regained all the lands which the kings his predecessors had lost. He caused horses to be brought from Oromuz and Adeem[1] into his kingdom and thereby gave great profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they asked. He took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive.

At the death of that King there remained three fortresses which had revolted from his rule, and which he was never able to take, which were these—Rachol (*Raichûr*), and Odegary (*Udayagiri*) and Conadolgi (*probably Kondavīd*) which have large and rich territories and are the principal forts in the kingdom. At his death he left two sons, and the governor of the kingdom was Narsenaque[2], who was father of the king that afterwards was king of Bisnaga; and this king (Narsymgua), before he died, sent to call Narsenaque his minister, and held converse with him, telling him at his death he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule[3]; also he said that all the royal treasures were his alone, and he reminded him that he had won this kingdom of Narsymgua at the point of the sword; adding that now there remained only three fortresses to be taken, but that for him the time for their capture was passed; and the King begged him to keep good guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princes, to whichever of them should

1. *Persia (Ormuz) and Aden. The latter were Arabs.* Sewell, p. 294.
2. Narasā Nāyaka father of the future kings Bhujabala Narasiṃha, Kṛṣṇarāya and Acyutarāya.
3. Probably, because of this special privilege Narasā Nāyaka is called in the inscriptions "partner in the kingdom". He was a "senādhipati" general in 1495. (*E.C. V* in New series, Mysore 118) and agent of the king in 1498, in *A R S E* 1916, no. 143, p. 14.

prove himself most fitted for it. And after the King's death this Narsenaque remained as governor, and soon he raised up the prince to be king retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country.

At that time a captain who wished him ill, determined to kill the prince, with a view afterwards to say that Narsenaque had bidden him commit the murder, he being the minister to whom the government of the kingdom had been entrusted, and he thought that for this act of treason Narsenaque would be put to death. And he soon so arranged it that the prince was killed one night by one of his pages who had been bribed for that purpose, and who slew the prince with a sword. As soon as Narsenaque heard that he was dead, and learned that he himself (was supposed to have) sent to kill him, he raised up another brother of the late King's to be king, not being able further to punish this captain, because he had many relations, until after he had raised this younger brother to be king, who was called Tamarao.[1] He (Narsenaque) went out one day from the city of Bisnaga towards Nagumdym, saying that he was going hunting, leaving all his household in the city. And after he had arrived at this city of Nagumdym he betook himself to another called Penagumdim (*Pennakonda* or Penugoṇḍe), which is four-and-twenty leagues from that place, where he at once made ready large forces and many horses and elephants, and then sent to tell the King Tamarao of the cause of his going; relating to him the treason that that captain by name Tymarsaa[2] had carried out slaying his brother the king, and by whose death he (the prince)

1. True, Sāḷuva Narsiṃha had a son called Tammarāya or Timmarāya. His name appears in only one inscription. and no longer his name is heard.
2. This Timmarasa should not be identified with Timmarasa minister of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

had inherited the kingdom. He told him how that the kingdom had been entrusted to him by his father, as well as the care of himself and his brother, that as this man had killed his brother, so he would do to him in the same way, for he was a traitor; and he urged that for that reason it was necessary to punish him. But the king at that time was very fond of that captain, since by reason of him he had become King, and in place of punishing him he bestowed favour on him and took his part against the minister. And, seeing this, Narsenaque went against him with large forces, and besieged him, threatening him for four or five days, until the King, seeing his determination, commanded Timarasaa to be put to death; after which he (the King) sent the (traitor's) head to be shown to the minister, who greatly rejoiced. Narsenaque sent away all the troops and entered the city, where he was very well received by all the people, by whom he was much loved as being a man of much justice.

And after some days and years had passed, Narsenaque, seeing the age of the king how young he was, determined to keep him in the city of Penagumdy, with large guards to make safe his person, and to give him 20,000 cruzados of gold every year for his food and expenses, and himself to govern the kingdom—for it had been entrusted to him by the king his lord so to do. After this had been done he told the King that he desired to go to Bisnaga to do certain things, that would tend to the benefit of the kingdom, and the King, pleased at that, told him that so it should be; thinking that now he himself would be more his own master and not be so liable to be checked by him. And after he had departed and arrived at Bisnaga, Narsenaque sent the King 20,000 men for his guard, as he had arranged, and he sent as their captain Timapanarque (Timmappanāyaka), a man in whom he much confided;

(commanding him) that he should not allow the King to leave the city, and that he should carefully guard his person against treachery.

And after this was done Narsenaque began to make war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted. At that time it was proposed by some captains that they should kill the King, as he was not a man fitted to govern, but to this Narsenaque would answer nothing. After some days had passed, however, Narsenaque, pondering on the treason about which they had spoken to him, how it would increase his greatness and more easily make him lord of the kingdom of which he was (only) minister, called one day those same captains who had often proposed it to him, and asked them by what means the King could be slain without its being known that he had had a hand in his death. Then one man[1] told him that a very good way would be that he (the minister) should appear to be annoyed with him and should send to command his presence, which mandate he would not obey, and on account of this act of disrespect he (the minister) should ordain that some punishment be inflicted, and at this aggravation he would leave the city and fly to Penagundy to stir up the king against the minister. He said that after he had gained the goodwill of the King he would so plot against him that he would render him disobedient; and that to give the King greater encouragement he would forge letters as if from captains which should contain the same counsel—namely, that he should leave that city where he was more prisoner than free—and would point out to him that he alone was king and lord, and yet that the land was under the power of Narasenaque his vassal, who had made himself very strong and powerful in the king-

1. Later, we learn that this man's name was Codemerade, Sewell, p. 297, n. 1.

dom and held him (the King) prisoner, and had rebelled. He would urge the King to secretly quit the city and betake himself to a fortress belonging to the captain who had sent him that letter, and that there he should prepare himself, getting together a large following. And he would tell him that when the lords and captains came to know of his wish and determination they would act according to it, and would help him, and would come with him to fall upon Narsenayaque, and would bestow upon him (Narsenaque) the prison in which he (the King) was now kept. So he would be king. (The captain) further said that after he had persuaded the King to this he would cause him to (leave the city) and while going out he would kill him, and that in this way Narsenaque should become king.

Narsenayque was well pleased to listen to this treason and to hear of the evil deed which this captain planned, and he showed him much favour. The captain disappeared after some days from where Narsenayque was, feigning to have fled; and he came to Penamgudy, where in a few days his arrival was known; and he set about and put in hand all those things that had been arranged. Every day he showed the King a letter, one day from a captain of one fortress, the next day another from another captain; and the King, understanding the plots contained in the letters so shown, replied that the counsel and advice seemed good, and yet how could he resist the power of Narsenayque, who, besides being minister of the kingdom, had (possession of) all the horses and elephants and treasure, so that he could at once make war against him? "True it is, Sire, that which thou sayest," answered the traitor, "and yet he is much misliked by all the captains who raised thee to be king, and as soon as they shall see thee in Chāodagary (Chandragiri which was a fortress

whither he had advised him to flee, being one which up to that time was independent) "all will flock to thine aid, since they esteem it a just cause." Said the King,-"Since this is so, how dost thou proposed that I should leave this place, so that my going should not be known to the guards and to the 20,000 men who surround me in this city?" "Sire", he replied, "I will disclose to thee a very good plan; thou and I will go forth by this thy garden, and from thence by a postern gate which is in the city (wall), and which I know well; and the guards, seeing thee alone without any following, will not know that it is thou, the King, and thus we shall pass to the outside of the city, where I will have horses ready that will take us whithersoever it seemeth good to thee." All this pleased the King well, and he placed everything in his hands; and, seeing fulfilled all his desire, the captain spoke with those men who guarded that part of the garden by which he wished that the King should fly, and which was near the King's own houses (for into this garden the King often went to amuse himself with his wives, which garden was at that part guarded by a matter of 300 armed men) and to these men he spoke thus, saying to them:—"If ye shall happen to see me pass by here on such a night and at such an hour, and if ye shall see a man coming with me, slay him, for he well deserves it of me, and I will reward ye;" and they all said that that would be a very small service to do for him. When that day had passed the traitor went to the King and said to him:—"Sire, do not put off till to-morrow that which thou has to do to-day; for I have the horses ready for thy escape, and have planned so to escort the forth that even thy ladies shall not be aware of thy departure, nor any other person. Come, Sire, to the garden, where I will await thee." The King replied that his words were good and so he would do, and as soon as

night was come and the hour arrived, the King went carefully out, and still more careful was he who for some time had awaited him; and he gave signal to the armed men, and as soon as he was come to the garden he passed between two of them who were the guards, and they threw themselves on the King and slew him, and forthwith buried him at the foot of a tree in the same garden. And this being accomplished without their knowing whom they had slain, the traitor gave them his thanks, and returned to his inn to make ready to leave the city, and also so as not to give cause for talk therein. And the next morning it was found that the King was missing; and though searched for throughout all the city no news of him could be heard, all the people thinking that he had fled somewhere, whence he would make war on Narsenayque. And to Narsenayque the news was straight-way brought, and he, feigning much sorrow at it, yet made ready all his horses and elephants in case the kingdom should be plunged into some revolution by the death of the king; although as yet he knew not for certain how the matter stood, save that the king had disappeared. And afterwards the man came who had killed the King, and told him how it had been done and how secretly he had been slain, so that even the very men who had killed him knew not who it was; and Narsenayque bestowed upon him rich reward. And since there was no news of the King, and he holding everything now under his hand, he was raised to be king over all the land of Narsymgua.

And this king left at his death five sons, one was called Busbalrao, and another Crisnarao, and another Tetarao, and another Ramygupa and another Ouamysyuaya[1].

1. It is difficult to identify the last three names. Busbalrao must be Bhujabalarāya who is more known as Bhujabalanarasiṃha;

And this Busbalrao inherited the kingdom at the death of his father Narsenayque and reigned six years, during which he was always at war, for as soon as his father was dead the whole land revolted under its captains; who in a short time were destroyed by that King, and their lands taken and reduced under his rule. During these six years the King spent, in restoring the country to its former condition, eight million gold *pardaos*. This King died of his sickness in the city of Bisnaga; and before he died he sent for Salvatimya (Sāḷuva Timma) his minister and commanded to be brought to him his (the King's) son, eight years old, and said to Sallvatina that as soon as he was dead he must raise up this son to be king (though he was not of an age for that, and though the kingdom ought perhaps to belong to his brother Crisnarao) and that he must put out the eyes of the latter and must bring them to show him; in order that after his death there should be no differences in the kingdom. Salvatina said that he would do so and departed, and sent to call for Crisnarao, and took him aside to a stable, and told him how his brother had bade him put out his eyes and make his son king. When he heard this, Crisnarao said that he did not seek to be king, nor to be anything in the kingdom, even though it should come to him by right; that his desire was to pass through this world as a *jogi* (ascetic, recluse) and that he should not put his eyes out, seeing that he had not deserved that of his brother. Sallvatina, hearing this, and seeing that Crisnarao was a man of over twenty years and therefore more fit to be king, as you will see farther on, than the son

Crisnarao is Kṛṣṇarāya; Ramygupa can stand for Raṅgarāya and Ouamysyuaya may stand for Svāmi Acyutarāya. Tetarao is difficult to be identified as so far his name is met with, neither in inscriptions nor in literature. I have not come across with any name such as Tātarāya the son of Narasānāyaka.

of Busbalrao[1] who was only eight years old, commanded to bring a she-Goat, and he put out its eyes, and took them to show the King, for already he was at the last hour of his life; and he presented them to him, and as soon as the King was dead his brother Crisnarao was raised to be king, whose eyes the late King had ordered to be torn out.

1. In some inscriptions he is called Vijayanagarada Bhujabalarāya i.e. Bhujabalarāya of Vijayanagar. Sāḷuva Timma was also his minister. According to Rāyavācakamu, king Bhujabalarāya sent the royal ring to Kṛṣṇarāya so that the latter can become the king. See Dr. Bhargavi Shivaiah's thesis on "Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and his times" where she has discussed in length this question.

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CHAPTER V

Of the things done by King Crisnarao after he was raised to the throne.

As soon as Crisnarao was raised to be King and was obeyed throughout all his kingdom,—Salvatine being his minister, who had been the same for his brother Busbalrao,—he without delay sent his nephew, son of Busbalrao his brother, together with his own three brothers, to a fortress called Chāodegary; the nephew remained there till he died. And after the King had done this for his own safety he stayed in the city of Bisnaga for a year and a half without going outside of it, learning the affairs of the kingdom and looking at the testaments of past kings. Amongst these he found one of king Narsymga, whose minister his father Narsenayque had been, in which that King desired that his sons, or whoever should inherit this kingdom of Narsymga which he had gained by force of arms, should capture three fortresses that at his death remained in revolt against him, the which he had not himself taken because time failed him; one of them was called Rrachol (*Raichûr* same as Raicūr), and another Medegulla (Mudkal or *Mudgal*)

Crisnarao, seeing this testament and seeing how badly the kings his predecessors had acted in what had been enjoined on them, determined at once to prepare armies and to go against these places; and one of these fortresses was called Odigair (*Udayagiri*), and it belonged to the King of Orya. And, determining to go first against this, he

collected (an army of) thirty-four thousand foot and eight hundred elephants, and arrived with this force at the city of Digary (same as Udaygiri) in which there were ten thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horses; for the fortress had no necessity for more by reason of its great strength, because it could not be taken except by being starved out.

And the King laid siege to it for a year and a half, in which time he made many paths across rocky hills, breaking up many great boulders in order to make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortress. The place at this time was so strong that they could not approach it except by one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time; and in this place he made a broad road, and many others also, so that he could come close to the fortress.

And he took it by force of arms, and in it captured an aunt[1] of the King of Orya, who was taken captive and carried off with all the courtesy that he could show her, having her liberty; and he took her along with himself.

And after this was done he called Salvatinya and bade him see how well he had performed that which king Nạrsymga had by his testament enjoined on him, and yet he said he was not content with such a trivial victory, for he desired to go forward a hundred leagues into the kingdom of Orya; and he ordered him to make ready provisions and pay fully the salaries of the forces.

1. In Portuguese "tia" means an aunt and "tio" uncle. In the orginal it is tia which may be a mistake for "tio". In some inscriptions we read that after conquering Udayagiri King Kṛṣṇarāya imprisoned Tirumalarāhuttarāyamahāpātra. S I I IX, pt. ii, no. 500. It also records the names of other dignataries who were imprisoned, treated with courtesy and released by the king. Modern historians too think that the king imprisoned an uncle and not an aunt of the said king.

And after this fortress was taken he departed and went against Comdovy (*Kondavīd* same as Koṇḍavīḍu), which was one of the principal cities of the kingdom of Orya, and besieged it; and, learning this, the King of Orya came against him to defend his territories, and brought with him one thousand three hundred elephants, and twenty thousand horsemen, and he brought five hundred thousand foot-soldiers. Crisnarao, being aware of the approach of the king of Orya, left the city without assaulting it, saying that he preferred to fight the King in person and his army rather than to attack the city, and that there would be plenty of time afterwards to take it; and he went forward four leagues from it, leaving a force to prevent the escape of the people from the city if they should seek to flee to the coast[1]. And he arrived at a large river[2] of salt water crossed by a ford, and on the other side of the river was the King of Orya with his army. King Crisnarao halted his army on this side of the river, and sent the King a message that if he desired to fight with him he would retire from the river two leagues, so that he (the king of Orya) might pass the river unmolested, and as soon as he had passed he would join battle[3]; to which message the King of Orya gave no reply, but on the contrary made ready to give battle. And King Crisnarao, seeing his determination, crossed the river with all his force and elephants, and in the crossing of the river there were heavy encounters on

1. Prof. Rouch's version:....from the city in case an idea comes to them to attack the rear guard of the army''. This sounds more correct.
2. "I cannot identify this river. There is none such, to my knowledge, twelve miles or thereabouts from Kondavīd. "Salt" may perhaps mean brackish." Sewell, p. 303n.
3. Prof. Rouch:"....pass the river unmolested otherwise he (Kṛṣṇarāya,) would cross the river and engage himself in battle".

both sides, and many were slain. Notwithstanding this, King Crisnarao crossed the river, and on the bank fought so bravely that he defeated the King of Oria and put him to flight, in which defeat he took many horses and elephants.

And after the King had done this he told Salvatinea his minister that he purposed to turn back to the fortress, which had not yet experienced his strength, and he went against it, and stopped there two months besieging it; and he took it.

And he gave the command of it to Salvatinea, who left in it, from his army, for captain one of his brothers, in order that he himself might go forward with the King through the kingdom of Orya. And the king, passing the river once more in pursuit of the King of Orya, and taking and ravaging all the country which had no reason for expecting him, arrived at a city called Comdepally (*Kondapalle* same as Koṇḍapalḷi[1]), where were all the chiefs of the kingdom, it being the chief city in that kingdom. And he laid siege to it, and remained there three months without being able to capture it, and in the end he took it more by reason of his numbers than by force of arms; in which fortress he found many people of high rank whom he made captive, amongst whom was a wife of the King, and one of his sons who was a prince, and seven principal captains of the kingdom, all of whom he sent by road to Bysnaga.

And he went forward a hundred leagues into the kingdom finding no one to bar his progress till he got to Symamdary[1] which was a very large city, in which he halted for six months, waiting for the King of Orya. He sent many messages to say that he was waiting for him in the field, but he never came. And in this city he did many

1. Sewell identifies it with *Rajahmundry* which is same as Rājamahendri.

works, and gave alms to the temples, and erected therein a very grand temple to which he gave much revenue. And he commanded to engrave on it an inscription which says: "Perhaps when these letters are decayed, the king of Orya will give battle to the King of Bisnaga. If the King of Orya erases them, his wife shall be given to the smiths who shoe the horses of the King of Bisnaga[1]."

And after this was done he returned, leaving the greater part of those lands to the temples, and came to Bisnaga where he rested some days. And he sent to call the son of the king of Orya who was taken captive in the first fortress, and told him that as people said that he was a very active man and was very dexterous with both sword and dagger, he would be pleased to see him fence.

The young man said that since His Highness summoned him he would do what he could, and asked that this might be put off till next day. And when the next day came the King sent to call him, and also sent for one of his own men who at that time was very expert in the art, that he should fence with him. And when the son of the King of Orya saw him, being offended with the King for sending a man to fight with him who was was not the son of a King but only a man of humble birth, he cried out to the King:- "God forbid that I should soil my hands by touching a man not of the blood royal," and saying this he slew himself[2]. And his father, hearing how his son was dead, wrote to Salvatinea (asking) by what means he could ransom his wife who remained in the power of the King, since his son

1. No such inscription is found in Rājamahendri.
2. Inscriptions mention this son of the king of Orissa as governor in the realms of Kṛṣṇarāya. Also, the above mentioned inscription says that all these prisoners were given "abhayadāna" that is security. I do not know how far is reliable Nuniz's story. See S I. I. IX, pt, ii, no. 500.

was dead; to which he made answer that he should arrange the marriage of his daughter with the King, and that afterwards the King would restore him his wife and lands (or, would take only his lands). This counsel he accepted, and he sent ambassadors to Bisnaga to arrange a marriage with his daughter, with which King Crisnarao was well content; and when the King of Orya knew his will (in the matter) he sent him his daughter;[1] and with the coming of her they were friends. And Crisnarao restored the lands on the other side of the river, and kept those on the hither side for himself.

1. The king of Orissa gave his daughter Tukā or Jaganmohini in marriage to Kṛṣṇarāya. According to a story Jaganmohini, the princess wanted to take revenge upon the king on her father's defeat. So, she tried on Kṛṣṇarāya's life and the furious king sentenced her to life imprisonment where she repented on her impulsion and imprudence. As an expression asking pardon she wrote five verses in sanskrit which are known as "Tukāpañcaka". But Nuniz says that she was one of the principal queens of the king whereas, in inscriptions only two names are mentioned: Cinnādēvi and Tirumalādēvi. So far, no inscription of hers is seen. Is there some truth in what Nuniz says?

CHAPTER VI

How Crisnarao, after he had made peace with the King of Oria, determined to go against the land of Catuir[1].

After crisnarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the King of Oria, and had restored to him his wife and the lands beyond the river, as has been narrated above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charamāodel (Cōlamaṇḍala) side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called...[2] and is surrounded with water.

Now at the time when Crisnarao attacked this city it was winter, for which cause the river that surrounded it was so swollen, and carried down so much water, that the king could do no harm to the place. And King Crisnarao, seeing this, and seeing that time was passing away without his attaining his desire, commanded his men to cut many new channels in order to be able to attack that principal (river) which had opposed itself to the fulfilment of his wishes. And this was done in a short time, since he had many soldiers; and after the (new) watercourses were finished and brought to where the water should go he opened mouths in the river, the water of which very soon flowed out so that the bottom could be seen, and it was left

1. Dr. Bhargavi Shivalah identifies "Catuir" with Ketavaram". See her thesis on Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.....
2. Blank in the original, writes Sewell.

so shallow that it enabled him to reach the walls of the city; and the river was thus diverted into fifty different beds. Inside the city were one hundred thousand foot-soldiers and three thousand cavalry, who defended themselves and fought very bravely, but this availed little to prevent Crisnarao from entering in a few days and slaughtering all of them. He found large treasures in this city, amongst others in ready money a million and six hundred thousand golden *pardaos*, besides jewels, and horses, which were numerous, and elephants. And after he had finished the capture of this land Crisnarao divided it amongst many of his captains, giving to each one what was necessary for him: and the chief who lived in the city and who was lord of the land was taken away captive and carried to Bisnaga, where he died in the King's prison.

And after the King had settled the country he came to Bisnaga, whence he sent Salvatinea to the city of Comdovy (Koṇḍavīḍu), since he was chief of it, by whom his brother was placed in it so as to see directly to the land and its government; for after the King returned from Orya he never went again thither.

And Salvatinea, having departed on his journey to Comdovy before he arrived there, met opposing his path, a Muhammadan named Madarmeluquo,[1] who was a captain of the King on this side, and who was waiting him with sixty thousand men. Salvatinea had two hundred thousand men, and had very little fear of him; and with these he went against him, and took and defeated him, and took prisoners himself and his wife and son and horses and elephants and much money and store of jewels, and sent them all to King Crisnarao. The King commanded to put

1. Prof. Rouch opts for the translation "the king of the Dakhan" for Elrey Daquem. In the original., Madarmeluquo must be Mallukhan of Raicūr, which name we come across in some inscriptions.

(the captives) in prison, and there they died. And Sallvatinea went to his territories, and after he had stayed there some months and seen to its government and decided matters in dispute, he returned to the King at Bisnaga, by whom he was well received as being the principal person in the kingdom.

CHAPTER VII

How Crisnarao, on the arrival of Salvatinea, determined to attack Rachol,[1] a city of the Ydalcão, and to break the peace that had lasted so long; and the reason why.

After salvatinia had arrived and had been well received by the King, and after the lapse of some days, the King told him that he desired to fulfil all the wishes expressed in the testament of King Narsyanga, one of which was to capture Rachol, which was a very strong city and amongst the principal ones of the Ydallcão,[2] who had taken it from the kings his ancestors; and because there was now peace between both parties, and had been so for forty years, he knew not how he could manage to break it. But Salvatinia said that since the peace had been made under certain conditions—one of which was that if on either one side or the other any land-owners, captains in revolt, or other evil-doers should be harboured and their surrender should be demanded, they should forthwith be given up—there was not great reason for breaking the peace, since many land-owners and debtors to His Highness had fled into the kingdom of the Ydallcão. He counselled therefore that the King should send to demand the surrender of these men, and that on refusal to give them up there would be good ground for breaking the peace. Many, however, disagreed

1. Famous battle and conquest of Raicūr by the king in or about A.D. 1520.
2. Adilkhan or Ādilshah of Bijapur or Vijāpura.

with this advice. Now it happened at this time that the King (of Bisnaga) sent Cide Mercar with forty thousand *pardaos* to Goa to buy horses, which Cide Mercar was a Moor in whom the King of Bisnaga confided on account of various affairs with which he had already been entrusted; and this man, when he arrived at a place where the Moors lived which was called Pomdaa (Poṇḍā) and is two leagues from Goa, fled from that place, Pomdaa, to the Ydallcão, carrying with him all the treasure. Some say that the Ydallcao wrote to him a letter as soon as he got there. As soon as they gave to the King this news of the flight of Cide, and how he had carried off all the money, he said that he would write to the Ydallcao to send the man back to him with all the money, since he was his friend. Then the King caused a letter to be written, in which he spoke of the friendship that had existed for so many years so that nothing could shake it, and that he hoped that a traitor would not be the cause of breaking a peace of such long standing as had been between them; and he begged that he would send Cide back at once.

As soon as the letter was read to the Ydallcão he sent to summon his kazis[1] and the men of his council, and he bade them read the letter which had come from the King, as to which letter there were many suggestions made. At the end of all they agreed[2] and he should not send him (Cide) to him (the King of Bisnaga), for they said the he (Cide) was one learned in the law and related to Mafumdo[3]. And the Ydallcão, as a cloak to his action, gave Dabull to

1. Kazis is spelt in the original as "cacizes".
2. "Many opinions were expressed on this text but at the end they all agreed that he should not send him back. They said in his favour that he is a man of letters and related to Mafumdo (Mahomet)" Prof. Rouch.
3. Muhammad, Mahomet, i.e. he was of the Prophet's kindred.

that Cide, by way of showing that he was not near his person nor knew he aught of him; from which town of Dabull Cide fled, nor had they any further news of him. When those who had come from the King returned bearing the Ydallcão's answer, the King showed great indignation at it, and held that the peace was broken; he at once ordered to appear before him the great lords of his Council, and had the letter read aloud so that all might hear. As soon as it was read he said that without more ado they should make ready, since he was determined to take full vengeance. But the councillors advised the King, saying that for such a small sum of money as this it was not well so to act; that he should think of what would be said and talked of throughout the world; and that if he was bent on breaking so prolonged a peace for such a trifling cause, he should call to mind that there never was any honesty in a Moor; that others were to blame in that which Cide had done; and that if Cide should dare to come to that war which was waged in order to take vengeance on him, then it would be well that those who accompanied him should die, but that they knew that Cide would keep well away from the army.

The councillors, however, saw the King remained unmoved from his determination to make war, and they then counselled him, saying: "Sire, do not go to war by that route (Dabull), but go against Rachol, which now belongs to the Ydallcão but of old was part of this kingdom; then the Ydallcão will be forced to come to defend it, and thus thou wilt take vengeance jointly both on one and the other." The King held this advice to be good and prepared for his departure, sending letters[1] to Madre Maluco and Demellyno,

1. There were five Shahi Sultans and the king sent letters to three of them. Sewell has given a tentative identification of these Shahi Sultans.

and Desturvirido[1], and other superior lords, giving them an account of what had taken place in the matter of the Ydallcão, and how he had determined to make war on him; from which lords he received answer that he was doing rightly, and that they would assist him as far as they were able. As to the Zemelluco,[2] at the time when the messengers returned this answer he could find no excuse for not sending some troops to the aid of his sister who was wedded to the Ydallcao.

The King had sent the letters to those lords out of his great craftiness, for he told them of what he was about to do in order to seduce them to his side,—so far at least as concerned their goodwill, seeing that in the matter of troops he had no need of them—because if they had joined the Ydallcão he (the King) would never have conquered as he did; but because the Ydallão was hated by them all as being a more powerful chief than they, (for there is little faith amongst the Moors, and they bite one another like dogs and like to see one after the other destroyed)[3] he was conquered, as you will see hereafter, in the month of May, on the new moon day, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-two[4].

After the King had made his offerings and performed sacrifices to his idols he left the city of Bisnaga with all his

1. Madre Maluco is Imad-ul-Mulk of Birar; Demellyno-Kutub Shah of Golkond and Desturvirido is identical with Barid Shah of Bidar.
2. Nizam-ul-Mulk.
3. I do not know for what reason Sewell had used brackets for the translation of this sentence. Neither in the original nor in Prof. Rouch's translation brackets are used.
4. Here Nuniz gives the date according to Christian calendar. The date proposed by Sewell is the beginning of the battle of Raicur whereas Nuniz speaks of the end of the battle when Ādil Khan was conquered by the king. So, the chronicler speaks of the final results of the war and the victory of King Kṛṣṇarāya.

troops, and they marched in the following order. The chief of the guard Camanayque (o porteiro moor)[1] led the advance with thirty thousand infantry-archers, men with shields, and musqueteers, and spearmen—and a thousand horse, and his elephants. After him went Trimbicara (Triyambakaraya) with fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse and twenty elephants. After him went Timapanayque;[2] he had with him sixty thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse and thirty elephants: and after him went Adapanayque[3] with one hundred thousand foot and five thousand horse and fifty elephants. After him came Comdamara,[4] and he had one hundred and twenty thousand foot six thousand horse and sixty elephants; after him went Comara (Kumāra?) and he had eighty thousand foot and of horse two thousand five hundred, and forty elephants; after him the forces of Ogemdraho[5] the governor of the city of Bisnaga, with one of his captains, who had one thousand horse and thirty thousand foot and ten elephants. After him went three eunuchs, favourites of the King, who had forty thousand foot and one thousand horse and fifteen elephants. The page who served the King with betel had fifteen thousand

1. Camanaque (Kāmanāyaka) was the chief guard of the gates, according to Prof. Rouch's translation. Further, Professor writes that Sewell has omitted the word "espimgardão" meaning harquebus or arquebus. Rouch has consulted some Portuguese-French dictionaries. According to these dictionaries "arquebuse à croc, arme de rempart, haquebute". (all are French words).
2. May be identical with Amarada Timmappanāyaka.
3. Ādappanāyaka, S I I XVIII, no. 48.
4. Koṇḍamarasa or Koṃḍamarasa probably identical with the son of minister Sāḷva or Sāḷuva Timma; S I I IX, pt. ii. no. 507 dated A.D. 1518.
5. Sewell may be right in identifying him with Sāḷva Govindarijā brother of Sāḷva Timma, the minister of the king.

foot and two hundred horse, but he had no elephants. Comarberca[1] had eight thousand foot and four hundred horse and twenty elephants. The people of the chief of Bengapor[2] went by another route with the people of Domar (*Doṃbas* or acrobats), who were very numerous; and in the same way went other captains of ten or twelve thousand men, of whom I make no mention, not knowing their names. The King took of his guard six thousand horse and forty thousand foot, the pick of all his kingdom[3], men with shields, archers, and three hundred elephants.

All were equally well armed, each after his own fashion, the archers and musqueteers with their quilted tunics, and the shieldmen with their swords and poignards[4] in their girdles; the shields are so large that there is no need for armour to protect the body, which is completely covered, the horses in full clothing, and the men with doublets, and weapons in their hands, and on their head headpieces after the manner of their doublets, quilted with cotton[5]. The war-elephants go with their howdahs (castellos)

1. "Comaraberca" represents Kumāra Vīrayya of Mysore. Later on Nuniz spells the name "Comarberya". Sewell, p. 312n.
2. Sewell gives another orthograph on page 119 as "Guym de Bengapor" and identifies with Bamkāpura. But in the original it is "Guymdebenga".
3. These words "the pick of all his kingdom" of Sewell's translation are not in the original and further he writes "men with shields". In the original the word is "adargueiros" and Prof. Rouch gives the meaning as follows: "soldiers who carry big shields made of wood covered with leather". Further he says that these shields (adargues) are so large that there is no need for armour....
4. Nuniz calls this poignard as "gomedares" from Prof. Rouch's translation. Such poignards can be seen on the girdles of some sculptures represented on pillars in the SE corner mandapa of Viṭhala temple at Hampi.
5. Sewell in his notes on page 265 writes "It appears to refer to the thick quilted tunics, strengthened by leather or metal pieces, which

from which four men fight on each side of them, and the elephants are completely clothed, and on their tusks they have knives fastened, much ground and sharpened, with which they do great harm. Several cannon[1] were also taken. I do not speak here of the washermen, who are numberless here—they wash clothes—nor of the public women who accompanied the army; there were twenty thousand of them with the king during his journey. Any one can imagine the amount of baggage that such a large number of people would take. In the rear with the king, but always on the road in front of him, some ten or twelve thousand men with water-skins who go seeking water, and place themselves along the road to give water to those who have no one to bring it to them; this is done so that none of the people should die of thirst. Three or four leagues in front of all this multitude go some fifty thousand who are like scouts[2]; they have to spy out the country in front, and always keep that distance; and on their flanks there are two thousand horse of the cavalry of that country. These are all bowmen, and they always advance on the

were so often worn in India in old days".....Further he refers to the sculptures of Kalyāṇamaṇḍapa of Vellore temple in North Arcot district. But, in Hampi itself we have better representations. In the temple of Viṭhala, the pillars of the maṇḍapa in the SE corner are adorned with rearing yāḷi type of animals whose riders wear a kind of quilted coat and head-dress which suit to Nuniz's description. And similar examples are also seen on the pillars in the "Mahāraṅgamaṇḍapa" of Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi. This maṇḍapa was also built by the king himself in A.D. 1510.
1. Rouch translates "Ils portaient aussi quelques traits de feu" that means "they were carrying some arrows with fire". In the warfare of olden days shooting arrows with fire at the edge was quite common. Nuniz meant this arm and not the "cannon" as Sewell interprets it.
2. In olden days the word scout meant man sent out to reconnoitre.

flanks of the scouts.

In this order, as I have stated, they left the city of Bisnaga, and with them a great number of merchants, besides many others who were already in advance with all supplies; so that wherever you may be you will at once find all you want. Every captain has his merchants who are compelled to give him all supplies requisite for all his people, and in the same way they carry all other necessaries.

According to the King's custom, when he wishes to lie down and sleep, they make for him a hedge of brushwood and of thorns behind which his tent is pitched, which was done for him all along this route; on which route was seen a wonderful thing, namely that on passing a river which, when they reached it, came half-way up to the knee, before half the people had passed it was totally dry without a drop of water; and they went about in the sand of it making pits to find some water. In this order the King proceeded till he arrived at the town of Mollabamdym (Malliabad), which is a league from the city of Rachol, where he pitched his camp so as to give a rest to the people after the fatigues of the march.

And the King being in the city of Mollabamdyn, settling all that was necessary for the siege of Rachol, there came to him people of the King of Bisnaga, and the people of Domaar, and also many other captains with an infinitude of people. As soon as they had joined and everything was put in order, and after his Brahmans had finished their ceremonies and sacrifices, they told the King that it was now time, that the pagodas had given sign of conquest, and that he should advance.

Then he sent the Moors in the royal service to lead the van, and Camanayque, the chief of the guard, pitched the camp very near the ditches of the city of Rachol, and every

captain halted his people according to the commands given. The people of the city received them with many shots from heavy cannon[1] that they had, and from many firelocks, and many arrows and musket-shots, so that those of the besiegers who arrived close to the ditches suffered heavily and wanted to retreat. But the King would not permit this, saying that he would not have sent them there were it not that he would soon effect an entry into the city, and if not, that they should all die; wherefore his men were compelled to attack the city, and did so in many brave and severe fights. In these many of them lost their lives, since those of the city were in very strong position and well acquainted with everything that was necessary for their defence, while the King's troops never ceased their attacks on the city. The captains, seeing how badly the attack was going in consequence of the number of soldiers killed, had recourse to lavish gifts and stratagems, as thus:—They began to buy (from the soldiers) the stones which they took from the walls and towers, and they paid them according to the value of the stone; so that the stones were worth ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty *fanams*. By this device they contrived to dismantel the wall in many places, and laid the city open; but since the city was in itself so strong, and the soldiers who were in it were such chosen men and so used to warfare, they killed many of the King's people. Yet not for that did they cease fighting, but every day and at every attack they became bolder, in consequence of their greed for what the captains gave them; for the money had the power of taking from them the terror of death which had inspired them before. They also gave them something for dragging away a dead man from the foot of the wall. So the fight dragged on for a

1. See note above.

space of three months till the Ydallcao came up with reinforcements.

Now I wish you to know more of the situation, and of the city, and the people which it held. This city of Rachol lies between two great rivers[1], and in the midst of a great plain where there are no trees except very small ones, and there are great boulders there; from each river to the city is three leagues. One of these rivers is the northern boundary, and beyond it the country belongs to the Ydallcão, and the other is the boundary to the south which is the boundary of Narsymga. This plain lies in the middle of these two rivers, and there are large lakes therein and wells and some little streams where the city is situated, and a hill which looks like a woman's breast[2] and is of natural formation. The city has three lines of strong walls of heavy masonry[3] made without lime; the walls are packed with earth inside, and it has on the highest point a fortress like a tower, very high and strong; at the top where the fortress stands is a spring of water which runs all the year round. It is held to be a holy and mysterious thing that a spring which is in a lofty situation in some way never be without water. Besides this spring there are several tanks of water and wells, so that the citizens had no fear of being ever taken for lack of

1. Raicūr or Raichur lies between the two rivers Kṛṣṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā. The former is to the north and the latter is to the south.
2. Nuniz gives the description of the hillock in the manner of Indian poets. He says: "There is an eminence (hillock) which looks like the nipple sprouting out of the breast of the mother earth," from Prof. Rouch's French translation. Whereas, true to British puritanic attitude, Sewell has given an ordinary banal translation.
3. "The town has three enceintes with very strong walls made of stones of a considerable size without lime," from Prof Rouch's translation. Raicūr fort was like this a few years ago. Owing to modern constructions the city has lost its originality.

water; and there were in the city supplies for five years. There were eight thousand men as garrison and four hundred horse and twenty elephants, and thirty catapults (*trabucos*) which hurled heavy stones and did great damage. The towers which are on the walls are so close together that one can hear words spoken from one to the other. Between these and all around they posted their artillery, which consisted of two hundred heavy pieces, not to mention small ones. As soon as the people of the city knew of the arrival of the King's troops, and after they had received a captain of the Ydallcao who came with some soldiers to the city, they closed the gates with stone and mortar. The chief fight which takes place is on the east side, because on the north and south sides it stands on huge rocks which make it very strong; and, the city being besieged on all sides, the camp of the King was on the east side, and so was the strength of the attack.

CHAPTER VIII

Of the manner in which the King had his camp &c.

The tent of the King was surrounded by a great hedge of thorns with only one entrance, and with a gate at which stood his guards. Inside this hedge lodged the Brahman who washes him[1] and has charge of the idol that he always carries about with him, and also other persons who hold offices about the King's person, and eunuchs who are always to be found in his chamber. And outside this circle all around are his guards, who watch all night at fixed spots; with this guard are quartered the officers of the household; and from thence to the front were all the other captains, in their appointed posts, according as each one was entrusted and ordered. Outside of all these people, in a camp by themselves, were the scouts of whom I have already spoken, whose duty it is to patrol all night through the camp and watch to see if they can catch any spies. On the other side the washermen (who are those that wash clothes) were in a camp by themselves, and they were near to the place where they could best wash clothes.

All the camp was divided into regular streets. Each captain's division has its market, where you found all kinds of meat, such as sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, hares, partridges and other birds, and this in great abundance; so much so that it would seem as if you were in the city of Bisnaga. And you found many endless kinds of rice, grains,

1. See B N K Sharma's book on this topic.

Indian-corn[1], vetches (*minguo*), and other seeds that they eat. Besides these things which are necessaries, they had another (market) where you could find in great abundance everything that you wanted; for in these markets they sell things that in our parts are sold by professional hucksters. There were craftsmen, also, working in their streets, so that you saw made there golden jewels and gewgaws, and you will find all kinds of rubies and diamonds and pearls, with every other kind of precious stone for sale. There also were to be seen sellers of cloths, and these were without number as that is a thing so many want, they being of cotton. There were also to be seen grass and straw in infinite abundance. I do not know who could describe it so as to be believed, so barren a country is this Rachol and so sandy. It is a mystery how there should be an abundance of everything therein. Any one can imagine what grass and straw would be required each day for the consumption of thirty-two thousand four hundred horses and five hundred and fifty-one elephants, to say nothing of the sumpter-mules and asses and the great numbers of oxen which carry all the supplies and many other burdens, such as tents and other things. Indeed no one who did not understand the meaning of what he saw would ever dream that a war was going on, but would think that he was in a prosperous city. Then to see the numbers of drums and trumpets, and other musical instruments that they use. When they strike up their music as sign that they are about to give battle it would seem as if the heavens must fall; and

1. The names of these grains need to be explained: in the original the word is *graos* which means bengal gram or kaḍale in Kannaḍa, chana in Hindi. And, Sewell translates "*milho zaburroi*" as Indian corn. It is not Indian corn or maize but millets such as jowar etc. Indian-corn or maize was not yet known in India then. Minguo is moong or Phaseolus Mungo in Prof. Rouch's opinion.

if it happened that a bird came flying along at the time when they made such a terrific noise, it used to come down through terror of not being able to get clear of the camp, and so they would catch it in their hands; principally kites, of which they caught many.

But I cease to speak more of this because I should never finish; and so I turn to tell of the battle[1].

1. The graphic account of Nuniz on the war preparation by the king of Karnataka is really remarkable. This is very useful to those who want to study the warfare of the epoch.

CHAPTER IX

How the King attacked the city of Rachol.

The king, being as I have said at the siege of the city of Rachol, there came to him sure news that the Ydallcao had arrived at the river on the northern side, and that there he had pitched his camp. The King therefore sent his spies to keep watch over the foe, to see what he was doing and to send word of his every movement. With the coming of this news a tumult broke out in the camp, principally among the common soldiers, in whose minds suspicion was never wanting and they still suffered under the terror inspired from old time by the Moors There the Ydallcão halted some days so as to see what the King was doing and whether he would march to attack him there in his camp; for it was thought by him and by his people that as soon as the King should learn of his arrival he would at once march to meet him, and they decided that he could defend himself from the King in the place where he was better than in any other, by help of the river. For there was no other ford than the one close at hand; and this they proposed to guard so well that none should take it, least of all, they thought, men who (in their eyes) were only blacks.[1]

Although the King heard that the enemy was on the opposite bank of the river, he yet made no move, nor did he do anything; and the Ydallcão, seeing that he made no

1. Moors, according to Prof. Rouch's version.

advance, took counsel with his officers, and at this council the advice given greatly differed, as each had his own opinion regarding the non-movement of the King. Many said that this was because the King held his foe to be of little account, and wished to show his people how great was his power; and they said that he was only waiting for them to cross the river to at once fall upon them. The principal person who said this was Amcostam (*Ankus Khân*), who was captain of Pomdaa (*Poṇḍā*) at the time that Dom Guterre[1] was captain of Goa. Others said no, but that the King was afraid, thinking of times past and the many conquests that the Moors had gained over the Hindus, and that he had brought with him some veteran soldiers that had taken part in those wars. The advice of these was to push forward and pass the river. It was not well (they said) for the Ydallcão to show weakness, and the longer he stayed where he was the less would he benefit himself and harm the enemy; and although they were not so many in number as the Hindus, yet they had the advantage in the remembrance of the former battles that had been fought between them. In the end the Ydallcao ordered that they should muster the forces, and said that after this was ended he would decide what was best to be done. When the muster was made, he found that he had one hundred and twenty thousand men on foot, archers, musqueteers[2] and men with shields (adargues) and spearmen, and eighteen thousand cavalry, and one hundred and fifty el-

1. Dom Guterre de Monroy sailed from Portugal to India in command of a fleet (Albuquerque, Hakluyt edition, iv, 194), in Sewell, p. 319 n.2.
2. What Sewell has translated as "musqueteers" in the original is *espimgardeyros* which means "Arquebusiers or Harquebusiers". Arquebus or Harquebus is an early type of portable gun support on a tripod or on a forked rest. *The Oxford English Dictionary.*

ephants; and when the muster was over and he had seen his forces for himself, seeing also the great strength of artillery that he had, he said that with his artillery he would seek to defeat the Rao of Narsymga[1]. He therefore ordered them to make ready, since he desired to cross the river at once and advance to the attack; for the Ydallcão believed that his best course was to halt on the farther side and thence send his troops to charge the camp of the King, and that in so doing he would not be beaten and would not lose Rachol.

In this greedy[2] resolve he passed the ford and advanced to within three leagues of the King's camp, and he caused his own camp to be strengthened by large trenches, and commanded all his artillery to take post in front, and he arranged the order of his positions and the manner in which they should behave if they were attacked by the enemy. His camp extended along the length of the river for the sake of the water, that he might not be cut off from it by the enemy.

As soon as they brought news to the King that the Ydallcão had passed the river, he commanded all to ask ready, but that no movement should take place in his army till he should see how the enemy acted; and when they brought him further news that the enemy had pitched his camp and strengthened his position, he ordered a general advance of all his forces. He divided his army into seven wings. Comarberya (Kumār Vīrayya) begged from him (the command) of the van, he being the king's father-in-law and a great lord; he is King of Serigapatão (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa near Mysore) and lord of a large state; he brought with him thirty grown-up sons. The King bade him pitch his camp a

1. Rāya of Narsymga i.e. King of Karnāṭaka.
2. "Once this decision was taken "translates Prof. rouch. According to him there is no term "greedy" in the original.

league from the Ydallcao and ordered all to arm themselves at dawn, as he intended then to give battle to the enemy; but the men of the Council said that that day was an unlucky day, and begged him not to attack, as it was a Friday, and they asked him not to attack till Saturday, which they hold for a lucky day.

When the King had left Rachol, those inside opened a gate, and one of the captains who was inside, a eunuch, made a sally with two hundred horse, certain foot-soldiers and elephants; he kept entirely along the river-bank on the King's flank. The object of this no one could guess, each one having his own opinion. As soon as the King halted he also did the same, keeping always his spies in the King's camp to see what passed and (what would be) the end of the battle. Since both armies were so close, each to his foe, they never put aside their weapons but watched all the night through.

Seeing that the dawn of Saturday was now breaking, the drums and trumpets and other music in the King's camp began to sound and the men to shout, so that it seemed as if the sky would fall to the earth; then the neighing and excitement of the horses, and the trumpeting of the elephants, it is impossible for any one to describe how it was. But even if told in simple truth it would hardly be believed the great fear and terror that struck those who heard it, so that even those very men that caused the noise were themselves frightened at it. And the enemy on their part made no less noise, so that if you asked anything you could not hear yourself speak and you had to ask by signs, since in no other manner could you make yourself understood. When all in the camp had gone to the front it was already two hours after sunrise, and the King ordered an advance of his two[1] forward divisions, with command so to strike home that they should leave not one of the enemy

alive; and this was forthwith done. They attacked the enemy so hotly that many of the King's troops found themselves on the tops of the trenches that the Moors had constructed in the fields. The Moors were disposed as if they expected that the King would engage them all at once with all his forces, and so it appeared to the Ydallcão and to his officers; and for that reason he held ready all his artillery, waiting for the time when, owing to the adventurousness of their main body, his men must of necessity cause much slaughter in their ranks. Then he intended to bring up his artillery and destroy them. But as soon as he saw the manner of their attack the Ydallcão had to abandon the plan that had seemed to him best for their safety, and he commanded the whole artillery at once to open fire, which discharge, as it was very great, did much damage to the enemy, killing many of the horse and foot and many elephants, and it compelled the King's troops to retire. As soon as the Moors saw their enemies beginning to leave the field they charged all amongst them, so that there did not remain one man in the saddle nor one who kept his face to the foe; but all the King's troops began to fly, and the Moors after them, slaughtering them for about half a league. When the King saw the way in which his troops fled he began to cry out that they were traitors, and that he would see who was on his side; and that since they all had to die they should meet their fate boldly according to custom[2]. "Who ranges himself with me?" he cried. Immediately there thronged about him those lords and captains that were ready to side with him, and the King

1. The word "two" is not in the Portuguese published text.
2. In note no. 2 on p. 322 Sewell proposes another translation: "Since death appeared inevitable they should meet it half-way, and not lazily await it". Prof. Rouch also gives a similar translation "The king said that he will see who will follow and die with him after

said that the day had arrived in which the Ydallcão would boast that he had slain in it the greatest lord in the world, but that he should never boast that he had vanquished him. Then he took a ring from his finger and gave it to one of his pages, so that he might show it to his queens in token of his death, that they might burn themselves according to custom. Then he mounted a horse and moved forward with all his remaining divisions, commanding to slay without mercy every man of those who had fled. As soon as these last saw what a reception they received at the hand of their fellows they felt compelled to turn and charge the enemy, and their attack was such that not one amongst the Moors was found to face them; for the Moors met them as men engaged in a pursuit, all in great disorder. The confusion was so great amongst the Moors and such havoc was wrought (in their ranks) that they did not even try to defend the camp they had made so strong and enclosed so well; but like lost men they leaped into the river to save themselves. Then after them came large numbers of the King's troops and elephants, which latter worked amongst them mischief without end, for they seized men with their trunks and tore them into small pieces, whilst those who rode in the castles (howdahs) killed countless numbers.

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having asked aid and assistance to the death according to their custom." It was customary in olden days to meet the death boldly in the battlefields. So, there is a verse in Sanskrit which says: if you die you will have the company of heavenly nymphs (attain liberation) whereas with victory you will have the company of goddess of victory (Rājyalaksmi) i.e. kingdom. This verse occurs in a large number of hero-stone inscriptions. Similar verse is in Bhagavadgītā, also (2nd Adhyāya, verse 37.) where God Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna the same. See Dr. Sēṣādri's thesis in Kannaḍa on "*Memorial stones*", Kannaḍa Sāhityapariṣat publication, Bangalore.

The troops advance thus, pursuing the foe, till the King reached the river, where, seeing the death of so many—for here you would see women and boys who had left the camp, there horses and men who through clinging one to another could not escape as there was so much water in the river—and the King's troops stood on the bank, so that whenever a man appeared he was killed, and the horses that tried to clamber up by the bank of the river, unable to do so, fell back on the men, so that neither one nor the other escaped, and the elephants went into the stream, and those that they could seize were cruelly killed by them. Seeing what passed, I say, the King out of compassion commanded the troops to retire, saying that numbers had died who did not deserve death nor were at all in fault; which order was at once obeyed by all the captains, so that each one withdrew all his forces.

The King then advanced to the camp of the Ydallcão and rested himself in his tent, but many of the captains spoke against his action in thus taking repose, saying that he ought rather to complete the destruction of all his enemies, and they would secure this for him; and that if he did not wish himself to do this he should at least command some of them to do it, and that it was not wise to cease from pursuit so long as day light should last. To whom the King answered that many had died who were not to blame; that if the Ydallcão had done him wrong, he had already suffered enough; and moreover, that it did not seem to him good, since Rachol remained behind them to be taken, that they should go forward, but rather they should make themselves ready for its capture; for that the siege had to be conducted henceforth in a new and better manner. For the King was persuaded throughout that, since the Ydallcão had lost so many men and so much honour, and had lost indeed all his power, he would not wish to live any longer,

and that he must be dead on the field. Which, however, was not so, seeing that the Ydallcão had not even entered into the fight, but had all the time remained under guard of Sefallarym—he who now calls himself Acadacão (Asad Khân) and is lord of Belgaum-who, fearing the event, contrived by cunning that the Ydallcao should select him for his guard with all his troops, among whom he had four hundred cavalry; and when he saw how the soldiers fled, and how completely they had been defeated, he said to the Ydallcão "Sire, if thou seeketh to live follow me!" and the Ydallcão took refuge on an elephant and followed him, leaving his camp and all that he possessed. And as Acadão wished him to travel by land, he took no care to search for the ford, but skirting the range of hills on the south he went by that way.

As it may be asked what became of the captain who sallied out of Rachol with the two hundred horsemen and elephants and foot-soldiers, I say he ever kept himself advised of what passed in the field; and as soon as he learned that the Ydallcão was defeated he turned back to take refuge again in the citadel. But those within were not of a mind to receive him, there being a quarrel between him and another captain who was in the city; and he, seeing that they would not admit him, was forced to think how he could save himself, and he did so by passing the river by another ford farther down, and so saved himself. The belief of many was that he who was inside thought that he would now possess the city for his own, and that he would thereby become rich, and for that reason refused to receive the captain.

CHAPTER X

On the spoil taken from the Moors, of how the King burned all the dead, and of what Christovao de Figueiredo did.

The king being thus in the camp, he commanded the spoil that remained of the Moors to be collected, and there were found five captains who were taken prisoners (those of highest rank were found amongst the dead); the chiefest of them was Salabatacão (Salābat Khān), who was captain-general of all the troops of the Ydallcão. He had taken for his guard in the battle five hundred Portuguese[1] of the renegades who were with the Moors; and as soon as this Salabatacao saw that his army was defeated, he strove to collect and form a body of men, but could not do it because there was not one amongst them who thought of aught but to save himself. And thinking it worse to be conquered than to die, he threw himself amongst the King's troops slaughtering them, and doing such wonderful deeds that ever after he and his Portuguese were remembered, so much were their terrible strokes feared, and the deeds they did; so that they let them pass on, and they penetrated so far amongst the troops that they found themselves close to the King's body guard. There the horse of Salabatacao was killed. In order to succour him the Portuguese did great deeds, and killed so many men that they left a broad road behind them which no one dare to enter, and they fought so

1. In the original it is "cymcoenta portuguezes" which means fifty Portuguese and not five hundred as Sewell has translated it.

well that they got another horse for Salabatacão. As soon as he was on its back he seemed like nothing but a furious wolf amongst sheep; but since already they were all so exhausted, so wounded all over, and so encircled by the enemy (for they were attacked at every point), Salabatacão was at length overthrown, and his horse with him. And as the Portuguese who tried to succour him were all killed, not one escaping, and he himself was wounded in many places, he was taken prisoner.

The spoil was four thousand horses[1] of Ormuz, and a hundred elephants, and four hundred heavy cannon, besides small ones; the number of gun-carriages for them was nine hundred, and there were many tents and pavilions. I take no account of the sumpter-horses and oxen and other beasts, for they were numberless, nor of the numbers of men and boys, nor yet of some women, whom the King ordered to be released.

Here the King stayed till all the dead had been burned, and the customary honours had been paid to them; and here he gave much alms for the souls of those who had been killed in battle on his side. These numbered sixteen thousand and odd. These things done, he turned again upon Rachol and pitched his camp as he had done before.

During this return of the King there came to meet him Christovao de Figueiredo who was at that time in the city of Bisnaga with horses, and he took with him twenty Portuguese musqueteers[2], he also himself having his musquet. The King took much pleasure in his company;

1. Sometimes Sewell has used plural and other times singular for horse of cavalry. I have copied it as it is in his text.
2. They were not musqueteers but arquebusiers. C. de Figueiredo was carrying his arquebus. Arquebus was replaced by musket in 1570. (See French Encyclopedia Larousse). Arquebus is a kind of fire-arm.

glad that he should see the war and his great power; and he ordered some tents to be given to him of those taken from the Ydallcão, and commanded that he should be lodged close to his own quarters. One day Christovão de Figueiredo told the King that he wanted to go and see the city, but the King said that he should not set his heart upon that because he did not want any disaster to befall him. But Christovão de Figueiredo replied that the whole business of the Portuguese was war, and that this would be the greatest favour that he could do him, namely that His Highness should permit him to go and see the Moors. So the King gave him leave and sent some people (escorts) with him. Christovão de Figueiredo went close to the trench before the walls, keeping himself as much concealed as possible, and seeing how fearlessly the Moors exposed themselves on the wall, began, with the musqueteers (arquebusiers) whom he had brought, to open fire on them in such a way that he slew many, the Moors being careless and free from fear, as men who up to then had never seen men killed with firearms[1] nor with other such weapons. So they began to forsake the wall (at this point), and the king's troops found an opportunity of coming in safety to it, and they began to destroy much of the masonry; and so many people collected on this side that all the camp was put in commotion, saying that Christovão de Figueiredo had entered the city with his Portuguese. This was told to the King. Those in the city could not understand what was going on, nor how these people came to be in the King's service, until they recollected how on the day of the other fight the Portuguese had

1. Here Nuniz's narration is inexact. A little above he had spoken about the use of fire-arms in the war and now he says that Moors were surprised to see these fire-arms.

come, and then they considered themselves lost.[1] For by the aid of those men the King's people came without fear to the wall, where already it was damaged in many places, because the city had its cannon so high up that these could do no injury to the men who were at the foot of the wall. The wall also was filled up inside with earth, and there were no cannon in the breaches. The people of the city whom up to that time they had killed had been supplied with stones which they had flung on the besiegers from the top of the wall, and with musquets[2] and arrows, so that even if the King's men were able to reach the wall at all they were at least wounded; but as Christovão de Figueiredo with the Portuguese prevented the enemy from appearing at all on the wall, the Hindus were enabled to reach it at their ease.

Here you would have seen how the King's captains begged Christovao de Figueiredo to permit them one day to attack the Moors in his company, and he, in order to content the more honourable of them, went with them on those days. One day, he divided his musqueteers into three companies and began to kill several amongst the Moors who showed themselves, insomuch that none durst be seen; and then the King's troops began, in these three divisions, to attack the wall with many pickaxes and crowbars, and he sent to tell the rest that they should attack on their own account; and such was the result that the defenders of the city began to abandon the first line fortification, and the women and children took refuge in the

1. According to Prof. Rouch's translation: "Those in the city wondered what was happening to them and from where these people have come to enter in the service of the king, till that moment whereas on the next day during the course of another fight they saw and recognised the Portuguese".
2. "Haquebus or arquebus", according to Prof. Rouch.

citadel. The captain of the city, seeing the dismay that had spread amongst his people, began to turn them back with encouraging words, and with some of them betook himself to that part of the wall which he saw was most severely pressed, begging them that they would come back to the wall and not be afraid. He was answered by some that at that point were those Franks[1] who were helping, and that as soon as any one showed himself he was a dead man; and he, wishing to see for himself where the Portuguese were, reached over with his body in front one of the embrasures and was killed with a musquet-shot (*arquebusade*) that struck him in the middle of his forehead. It was said by the Moors that Christovão de Figueiredo had killed him, and they took notice of him (*dearão sygnaes d elle*). As soon as the captain was thus killed there was great lamentation in the city, and soon the wall was deserted, so that the men from the King's camp were left to do as they pleased with it; and they noticed the outcry that arose within and saw that there was no one defending the wall. They therefore retired to see what should happen, and left off fighting for that day.

1. Framges, i.e. Feringhees, Franks or Europeans, Sewell, p. 328 n.

CHAPTER XI

How those in the city asked for terms, and the king granted them quarter.

Next day, which was twenty days since the battle had taken place in which the Ydallcão had been defeated, the men of the city opened a gate, and with a white flag carried in front of them went the way of the King's camp with their hands uplifted, begging the King's mercy.

When the King was advised of their coming, he commanded Solestema (*Sâluva Timma*), his minister, to receive them; and when they saw that he came out to receive them they began to hope that they should experience kindness at the King's hands.

Thus they came to the place where he was, and there they prostrated themselves on the ground with much groaning and tears, and besought his pity and benevolence.

The King commanded them to rise, saying that he would save all their persons and property, and that they need have no fear but should return to the city, and that on the next day he would enter it; and he bade a captain take possession of the city.

Whilst the Moors were thus in presence of the King (the soldiers looking on), they saw Christovão de Figueiredo, and told the King that the conquest and capture of the city was due to that foreigner, that he had slain their captain, and with his people had killed many Moors, which caused the city's destruction. The King, casting his eyes on

Christovão de Figueiredo, nodded his head, and turned to the people telling them to observe what great things could be effected by one good man. He then retired to his tent and the men of the city to the city, and the king's troops made great feasting and rejoicing.

CHAPTER XII

How the King entered the city, and of the feast that was made for him, and of the regulations and arrangements he made there.

AS soon as the next day dawned, the King, after he had performed both his customary prayers and others which it is their wont to offer after victories, giving thanks to God (for indeed the principal thing they pray for is a conquest such as this), rode in company with the other great lords and his captains, and with his guard took the way to the city. There the citizens were standing awaiting his arrival, with more cheerful countenances than their real feelings warranted, yet striving to take courage, and they followed him with much loud shouting; crying,-"God be praised who has sent to save us after so many year!" and with these and other such words they begged him to spare them and have pity on them. So he proceeded till he arrived close to the citadel, when he sent to call the most honoured men in the city, and to these the King said that he would spare all their property, that they might freely act as they wished regarding both that and their persons, and those who wished to stay in the city might remain in their old state as before; and as for those who wished to depart they might do so at once with all that they possessed. They all raised their hands to Heaven, and threw themselves on the ground in thankfulness for such gentle treatment. While the King was thus engaged there came men to tell him that his troops were robbing the city, and he at once took

measures to prevent this, and everything was returned to its owner; but as in such cases as these the conquered are content merely with their own liberty, laying little store by anything they may get back, great robberies took place;[1] and some of these afterwards came to the ears of the King, and those who had done it were soundly chastised.

In a short time the defeat of the Ydallcão was known all over India, and also in other regions of the interior, he being a great lord in these parts; and as soon as the news was carried to Zemelluco and Madremalluco and Destuy and Virido[2], and also to other lords who were like slaves to the king Daquym (*Dekhan, i.e. Bahamanis*) although in some measure they rejoiced since they wished him ill, yet on the other hand they began to be fearful for their own safety[3]. So they all took measures to send their envoys and these found the King still inside the city of Rachol. Astonished though they were to see that the King had captured so strong a city, they were much more surprised to see how great was his power and how numerous his troops. Having arrived where he was they gave him the letters they had brought, and these were forthwith read. In these the chiefs told the King that he ought to content himself with

1. Sewll's translation is not intelligible. According to Prof. Rouch: "all that was stolen was returned to their respective owners but, as in many such circumstances liberty is the only thing which counts more to the vanquished than what is returned to them, even though it was little, it appeared much. Some suffered considerable losses....".
2. Earlier Nuniz has given Dastur Virido as only one name; here he has split it into two. It must be Dasturvirido. See Ch. VII.
3. "Comecarão deitar as barbes em remolho". This refers to the Portuguese proverb "Quando vires arder as barbas do teuvizinho, põe as tuas "emremolho"-"When you see your neighbour's beard on fire, steep your own in water"; or guard against like treatment". Sewell, p. 331, n. 1.

having defeated the Ydallcão as he had done, and ought not to wage further war; they begged him of his goodness to return to the Ydallcão that which he had so taken from him, and that if he did so they would always obey whatever he commanded; but if he was not of a mind to this, then he must know for certain that they would be compelled to turn against him and forthwith join the Ydallcão, for whom they would speedily recover that which he had now lost. The King, seeing what was contained in the letters, answered them in the following manner by one single letter to them all: "Honoured Madremalluco, and Zemelluco, Descar and Veride[1], and all others of the kingdom of Daquym, I have seen your letters, and thank you much for what you have sent to say. As regards the Ydallcão, what I have done to him and taken from him he has richly deserved; as regards returning it to him that does not seem to me reasonable, nor am I going to do it; and as for you further statement that ye will all turn against me in aid of him if I do not do as ye ask, I pray you do not take the trouble to come hither, for I will myself go to seek ye if ye dare to await me in your lands;—and this I send you the answer. "And he commanded to give many gifts to the messengers, and giving his letter to them away.

1. Descar and Viride same as Deṣturvirido? See notes on previous pages.

CHAPTER XIII

How a number of people left the city, and the King did much kindness to them.

Many people left the city, and to many who had nothing wherewith to depart the king commanded to give all that was required for their journey. Here the King stayed some days, after having made all the arrangements that were necessary for the government of the city; and after repairing the walls[1] he left behind him sufficient troops to guard the place, and took the road to the city of Bisnaga, where he was received with great triumphs, and great feasts were made and he bestowed bountiful rewards on his troops.

As soon as the festivals were ended he went to the new city; and, being there, they told him how there was entered an ambassador of the Ydallcao. Already he knew that an ambassador had come out but he pretended that he did not know, since it is not customary for the King to send out to receive any ambassador (on his arrival). Since this ambassador was in the city of Bisnaga, knowing that the King was in the new city, which is two leagues from Bisnaga, he betook himself thither; and close to the city bade the people pitch his tent, which was the best and most beautiful and rich that up to that time had ever been

1. Effectively, the sculptures on one of the bastions of Raicur fort are in Vijayanagara style. Probably, this was the wall rebuilt by King Kṛṣṇarāya.

seen in those parts. This ambassador was called Matucotam[1]; he brought with him one hundred and fifty horse and much people to serve him and many pack animals, among which were certain camels. He brought also two of the scribes of the chamber of the Ydallcão, so that indeed you would believe that he had brought all the power of the Ydallcão "pera segumdo elle ficou desbaratgado"[2].

As soon as he had thus settled himself the ambassador sent to inform the King of his arrival, and begged that His Highness would grant him an audience and despatch him without delay. The King replied that he would see him, but told him that he should not be impatient since he himself had but now arrived, and that he would give him leave to depart as soon as the time had arrived. And with this the ambassador stayed there a month without the King having sought to see him, nor having asked to know why he had come; he went every day to the palace, and seeing the way in which the King acted towards him he determined to speak no more but to wait till the King summoned him. Still he never ceased to go every day to the palace and to speak with the nobles. One day the King sent to tell the ambassador that the following day was an auspicious day, and that he wished to hear him and learn wherefore he had come, and the ambassador made ready as it behoved him to present himself before so great a lord. As was fitting, considering his mission and the request he

1. Neither Sewell nor Senhor Lopes have been able to identify the name. Probably a Muslim with a Hindu name as Madhukottama or Madhusūdana?; like the historical figure "Rācūr Mallukhan".
2. Sewell says that this passage is corrupt and that he is unable to guess the meaning; (p. 332n). Prof. Rouch translates: "He had brought all the power of the Ydallcão with him, whereas, if one could believe him, he had lost everything".

had to make, he was accompanied by many Moors whom the city contained, and had with him all his people with their trumpets and drums as was customary; and so he went to the palace, where he was received very honourably by the nobles and officers of the household. They seated themselves inside the first gate, awaiting there a message from the King giving permission to enter where he was, and there was no long delay before the command to admit him was given. His obeisance to the King having been made according to his mode and custom, the men of the council standing by the king's side, he was bidden to announce the terms of his embassy, the King being ready graciously to listen; and the ambassador, seeing that the King so commanded, delivered himself of his message in manner following, with the awed demeanour assumed by such envoys when they find themselves in presence of such great kings.

CHAPTER XIV

How the Captain acquitted himself of his embassy before the King.

"SIRE! the Ydallcão, my master, sends me to thee; and by my mouth he begs thee that thou wouldest be pleased to do justice. He bids me say that he bears very good will towards thee as towards the most true and powerful prince in all the world, and one possessed of most justice and truth; that thou without reason has broken the friendship and peace which thou has had towards him, and not only so but a peace which was made so many years ago and maintained by all the kings so truthfully; that he does not know why thou has left thy kingdom and made such war on him; that he was without suspicion when they brought him the news how thou hadst besieged the city of Rachol, and has robbed and destroyed the country round about, which news caused him to move and come to its rescue; that then all the members of his court were slain by thee, and his camp all plundered and destroyed, thou thyself being good witness of what was done, and that he begs thee to make amends therefore, and to send back to him his artillery and tents, his horses and elephants, with the rest that was taken from him, and also to restore his city of Rachol; that if thou wilt give him the satisfaction for which he prays as to this property and all other things thou wilt have him always for a loyal friend; but if not, thy action will be evil, even though pleasing to thyself'. Thus he ended, without saying more. The King said that he

might retire and repose, and that next day he would give him leave to depart, and the King gave him a robe of silk[1] and the cloths that are customary.

1. "Cabaya" according to Sewell is a "robe". Cabaya in Portuguese dictionaries is "a silk tunic of Orients", according to Prof. Rouch's research. Probably, Cabaya is the ancestor of modern "kaftan". ante p. 88, n.3.

CHAPTER XV

How the King sent to call the ambassador, and of the answer which he gave to him.

Next day the King sent to call the ambassador, and after other things had been spoken of between them, the King said that he would be content to restore everything to the Ydallcão according to his wish, and would be pleased at once to release Salabetacao, provided the Ydallcao would come and kiss his foot. When the ambassador heard the King's answer he took leave of him and went to his tent; and he wrote to the Ydallcão and told him what had passed, sending to him one of the scribes that had come with him. And much time had not passed when the Ydallcão sent him a reply, saying: How could it be possible for him to meet the King, seeing that he could not go to Bisnaga? and yet that he was of full mind joyfully to do that which the King wished. With this answer the ambassador went to the King, and since the King would have set higher value on the Ydallcão coming to kiss his feet than on all that he had taken from him, he said to the ambassador, "Do thou cause the Ydallcão to come to the confines of my kingdom, for I shall be soon there". Agreeing to this, the ambassador departed, so as to persuade the Ydallcão to come to the boundary. The King on his part went forthwith to a city called Mudugal (Mudkal or Mudgal) which is close to the boundary, and there he waited until they told him that the Ydallcão was coming and was already near at hand. Forthwith the King set out to meet him, and entered the

kingdom of Daquem, so desirous was he to meet the Ydallcão; but the Ydallcão, after all, dared not meet the King. And the King journeyed so far, whilst they kept saying to him. "Lo! he is here close at hand" that he even went as far as Bizapor[1] which is the best city in all the kingdom of Daquem. It has numbers of beautiful houses built according to our own fashion, with many gardens and bowers made of grape-vines, and pomegranates, and oranges and lemons, and all other kinds of garden produce.

Hither went the King, for it seemed well for him to await the coming of the Ydallcão in so goodly a city; and he formed the determination that if he got him here he would seize him or command him to be put to death, to avenge the affront that had been put upon him; and seeing that his enemy did not dare to come he remained in the city several days[2]. Then he turned away because water failed him; for since this city lies in a plain and has no water save that which it receives from rainfall into two lakes, of which there are two large ones, the Moors had opened these in order to drain them, so that the King should not be able to stay in their country. For this reason it behoved the King to depart. But the city was left almost in ruins not that the King had commanded it to be destroyed, but that his troops, in order to make fires for cooking, had torn down so many houses that it was a great grief to see—and this was occasioned by there being in the country a dearth of firewood, which comes to them from a great distance. The Ydallcão sent to ask the King what wrong the houses of his

1. In the original it is "Liza". It is Sewell who had read "Bizapor" and identified it with "Bijâpûr. Which is this town called Liza?
2. According to an inscription from Vijapura itself, king Kṛṣṇarāya halted here for four days. He had to leave the place due to some inconveniences of supplies. These events took place on 23rd March 1522.

captains had done that he had commanded to destroy them; for there remained no other houses standing save only the palaces of the Ydallcão, the King himself being therein. The King sent answer that it was not he who had done it, but that he could not control his people.

When the King went to the town of Modogal[1] the Ydallcão returned to Bigapor (Bijapur), where, seeing the great havoc that had been wrought in it, he took to himself the blame for such damage having been done, saying that if he had gone to the King such destruction would not have taken place, and that at least he could do this in future; he said that he had been badly advised since for his own part he had been prepared to do it. Thus he took counsel with his advisers, putting before them how secure his position was if he had the friendship of the King, that if allied to him he might be able to still further increase (the greatness of) his State, and that with the King's favour he would be able to carry out all his wishes. Concerning these things and others similar to these he continued constantly speaking with his advisers. Wherefore Acadacão the lord of Bilgao (Belgaum), he who had fled with him in the battle, and who was a man sagacious and cunning in such matters, addressed the Ydallcão begging permission to go himself to the King, and saying that he would remedy everything and would cause everything to take place just as his lord wished; and the Ydallcão listened to him readily.

Now Acadacão did not trouble himself to make this journey because he desired to serve the Ydallcão, for another would have done it as well, but he did it with a villanous motive and from the ill-will he bore to Salebatacão whom the King held in prison at Bisnaga; and the reason that he had this wicked motive was because Salebatacão

1. Same as Mudgal.

knew that Acadacão was the man that had caused the Ydalcão to flee, and that the cowardice of such an act was enough to destroy any army. Salebatacão had spoken angrily about this to all those who went to see him or who were sent to visit him, and he always said that he did not desire to be released from his captivity save for one reason only, namely that he might ruin Acadacão and war against him as against a mortal enemy. These things were all known to Acadacão, and he knew that if they released him it would come to pass as he had said, and therefore he determined to prevent this by contriving his enemy's death, as will be mentioned in its place. It was for this reason that Acadacão asked to be sent as ambassador to the King; and this was done.

CHAPTER XVI

How Acadacão went as ambassador for his King and compassed the death of Sallabatecão.

Acadacão being despatched by the Ydallcão, accompanied by certain horsemen with some servants took the road to the city of Mudogal where the King was, and the Ydallcão went with him as far as the river. When Acadacão had arrived, being allowed inside the city by command of the King, he remained several days without seeing the King until he was summoned by his order; then he was admitted and spoke with the King, giving him, with the manner of one who in such negotiations is both wise and bold, an excuse for the mistake which the Ydallcão had committed. He knew how to speak to the King so well that he removed all the King's wrath and fury against the Ydallcao, and he told the King that the principal cause why the Ydallcão did not meet him was the conduct of Salebatacão whom he had captured, and that this man had written to Ydallcão telling him not to do so, and giving for reason that the King desired to slay him. By these and other similar sayings he sought to set the King's mind against Salebatacão, even to the death, and the King, seeing what Acadacão wanted, and believing that a man of such great fame would not be guilty of saying anything that was not perfectly true, angrily commanded that Salebatacão, who was then in Bisnaga, should be beheaded; and this was at once done as soon as the message arrived.

As soon as Acadacão had accomplished this business he thought himself unsafe, and at once asked leave of the King, saying that he wished to go and get the Ydallcão to come to the river, so that when His Highness arrived he might meet him there. But the King told him not be impatient but to amuse himself there some days, and added that he wished to show him some things, and that he had somewhat about which to speak to him. Acadacão, however, being afraid that his treason would be discovered, did not feel safe, and behaved in such a manner that what he had done concerning Salebatacão was found out; wherefore the King sent to seize him, but when they went to look for him he was already gone. For he fled one night and betook himself to the Ydallcão, telling him that the King had commanded Salebatacão to be to death, and that he wanted to do the same to him, and so he had escaped; and it seemed to him that he (the Ydallcão) ought not to trust the King, who after all was nothing but a black. After he had spoken in this way he went to Bilgao where he strengthened his position, and when the Ydallcão sent afterwards to summon him he never obeyed, because he knew that the wickedness that he had done had been found out.

CHAPTER XVII

How the King went to the extremity of his territory to meet the Ydallcão, and what he did on not finding him

The king did not fail to go to the extremity of his territory, and since he did not find the Ydallcão there, nor his mother, as Acadacão had told him, he at once perceived that this was due to trickery on the part of Acadacão, and that he had done it all in order to compass the death of Salebatacão. Full of fury at this he entered the kingdom of Daquem and marched against the city of Culbergura (Kulberga same as Gulbarga or Kallubarige) and destroyed it and razed the fortress to the ground, and the same with many other places.

Thence he wanted to press forward, but his councillors did not agree to this, saying that water would fail him by that road and that it did not seem to them that those Moorish lords whom they counted as friends would be otherwise than afraid that the king would take their lands as he had taken those of the others, since they all served one sovereign, and that for this reason these lords would probably make friends with the Ydallcão, and together they would come against the King; and although there was no reason to be afraid of them, yet the King must needs fear the want of water, of which they had none. And the King agreed that this counsel was good.

In this city of Calbergara (Gulbarga), in the fortress belonging to it, the King took three sons of the King of

Daquem[1]. He made the eldest King of the kingdom of Daquem, his father being dead, though the Ydallcão wanted to make King one of his brothers-in-law, who was a bastard son of the King of Daquem, and had married one of the Ydallcão's sisters; for this reason he had kept these three brothers prisoners in that fortress. He whom he thus made King was received by all the realm as such, and obeyed by all the great lords, and even by the Ydallcão owing to his fear of the King. The other two brothers he took with him, and gave them each one an allowance, to each one every year fifty thousand gold *pardaos*; and he holds them and treats them as princes and great lords, as indeed they are. After the return of the King of Bisnaga, which took place in the same year in which he had left, nothing more passed between him and the Ydallcão worthy of record, relating either to peace or war.

1. The three princes were the sons of the Bahamani Sultan. Amongst these captive princes, one of them, the legitimate heir to the throne was raised to the position of the Sultan of Bhamani kingdom by King Kṛṣṇarāya. After this event, the king bore the title "Yavanarājyasthāpanācārya," establisher of Muslim realm."

CHAPTER XVIII

How this King during his own lifetime, raised to be King his son, being of the age of six years.

After the King had made an end of this, and had obtained so great a victory over his enemies, perceiving that he was already advanced in years, desiring to rest in his old age and wishing his son[1] to become King when he died, he determined to make him King during his lifetime, the boy being six years old and the King not knowing what would happen after his death. Wherefore he abdicated his throne and all his power and name, and gave it all to his son, and himself become his minister, and Salvatinica who had held that office became his counsellor, and he made one of the

1. An inscription dated A.D. 1517 December 1, Tuesday records a grant by Rāyasada Koṇḍamarasayya worthy son of minister Timmarasu, to Goddess Cauḍēśvari of Cōḷasamudram so that the king may be blessed with children. As an expression of his goodwill towards his patrons he made a grant. The inscription records that the king was ruling the earth in the company of his consort Tirumalāmbikā who probably, was in the family way. Queen Tirumalādēvi herself made a grant for the merit of her soon prince Tirumalarāya in A.D. 1518 October 25, Saturday, to god Kariya Tiruveṅgaḷanātha of Añjanagiri at Kāmalapuram near Hampi. (S I I vol. IX, pt. II, nos. 507 & 510 respectively). From these two records, it is clear that the king was blessed with a baby boy. Many inscriptions around A.D. 1524 mention the name of Tirumalarāya as the ruling king. What Nuniz recounts here occurred after this date.

latter's sons[1] a great lord among them. And so far did King Crisnarao go that after he had given the kingdom to his son, he himself did obeisance to him. With these changes the King made great festivals which lasted eight months, during which time the son of the King fell sick of a disease of which he died.[2].

After his death Crisnarao learned that his son had died by poison given him by the son of Sallvatinica, and in his anger, being certain that this was so, he sent to call Salvatinica and his son and Guandaja (Gōvindarāja), brother of Sallvatinica, and many other captains relatives of Ssallvatinica[3], and made them a speech at the time of the salaam, there being present many chiefs and principal persons of the kingdom, and relations of Ssallvatinica; he addressed him thus:-"I held thee always as my great friend, and now for these forty years[4] thou has been governor in this kingdom, which thou gavest me; yet I am under no obligation to thee for that, because in doing so thou didst act in a way contrary to thy duty. thou were

1. Probably, Koṇḍamarasayya author of the grant no.507 mentioned above.
2. The child being six years of age was raised to the throne. Probably, his tender age could not stand the fatigues of festivities which lasted for eight months. He might have died out due to exertion. Later, somebody, probably jealous of minister Sāḷva Timma's success with His Highness has concocted a story and related it to Nuniz. The latter was in the capital after ten years of these events and seems to relate royal family intrigues whether true or not.
3. It is Sewell's orthograph, not in the original Portuguese edition.
4. This fact is difficult to be accepted. Even, if we take into consideration that Sāḷva Timma was in the service of Tuluvas right from the beginning i.e. from 1500 A.D. onwards we cannot reach to the count of forty years. Either this is an addition by the copyist or a mistake by the informant while fabricating the myth. As, there are inscriptions mentioning the services of Sāḷva Timma and his son Koṇḍamarasayya after this date how to accept Nuniz's story?

bound, since thy lord the King my brother commanded so, put out mine eyes;[1] yet thou didst not carry out his will not obey him, but instead thou didst cheat him and the eyes of a Goat were put out, wherefore, since thou didst not fulfil his command, thou wert a traitor, and thy sons with thee for whom I done so much. Now I have learnt that my son died of poison given to him by thee and thy sons, and for that ye are all here made prisoners." With these words he arose and laid hands on them and seized them, and in doing so called of aid from many Portuguese who were then in the country with horses, asking them to come to his aid; and after he had seized the men, father and sons, they remained three years in prison. And he made minister a son of Codemerade, the same who had killed the son of King Narsymga in the city of Penagundy in the garden by treachery, by command of the King his father, as has already been told in this history.[2]

And soon afterwards Danayque, son of Salvatinica, escaped from prison and betook himself to a mountain range in which dwelt nobody but robbers and highwaymen, and in this there was a fortress where dwelt a captain, his relative, who receive him and helped him in all that he could, and from there he made such war on the King Crisnarao that he was driven to send against him much people, and as captain of the army he sent his

1. This story of Nuniz is hard to be accepted as the same inscription no. 507 of S I I IX, pt. ii makes such an eulogy of Bhujabala Narasiṃha and further records that Kṛṣṇaraya was his brother. If there were some truth in what Nuniz relates these facts would not have been recorded in the epigraphs.

2. Was the King foolish enough to dismiss one traitor to appoint another in his place? Why the King had to take the help of Portuguese to arrest his own men? Nuniz's story sounds all cock and bull story.

minister Ajaboissa (Ajjabasappa), who invested the place on all sides and took him therein and brought him prisoner to the King. After he had so come the King commanded him to be brought before him, with Sallvatinica his father and another brother of his who was kept in the prison, and he sent them to the place of executions and there had their eyes put out, for in this country they do not put Brahmans to death but only inflict some punishment so that they remain alive. So he put them in prison again, and there Timadanayque died, and Salvatinica his father remained in the prison with his other son Gamdarja[1].

1. Nuniz's story is full of confusion. Who is this Timadanayque (Timmadaṇḍanāyaka) who died in the Prison? Who is this Gamdaraja (Govindarāja) the son of Salvatinica (Sāḷva Timma)? Earlier, the former is mentioned as the brother of Sāḷva Timma. Either our identifications are wrong or Nuniz's or copyist's contribution to the confusion.

CHAPTER XIX

How the Ydallcão came against Rachol and did not dare to await the King, and fled

At this time the Ydallcão collected his army and formed afresh his forces of cavalry and elephants, and marched upon Rachol which remained under the king of Bisnaga. Hearing this news, Crisnarao, without even telling any one, ordered to saddle a horse, and he rode at full speed in the direction of Rachol where already the Ydallcão was; but as soon as his enemy was aware of the coming of King he fled. On the road King Crisnarao bought six[1] hundred horses from the Portuguese at the rate of 4¾ for 1000 *pardaos*[2].

And from Rachol he sent a message to the Ydallcão saying that he had already twice broken his oath and his word, and that as he had not fulfilled the promise he had made he would make war on him in such fashion as that by force he should become his vassal, and that he would not let him alone till he had taken from him Billgao (Begaum).

As the winter had now begun the King could not then go forward, and so he went to Bisnaga to make ready for

1. In the original it is "setecentos" that is seven hundred, Prof. Rouch. Sewell's translation is incorrect.
2. Nuniz, being a horse trader is mentioning fabulous price for his Portuguese horses. At this rate the king must have paid four thousand *Pardaos* for nineteen horses, according to Sewell's calculation. P. 343n.

this war; and he commanded to prepare a large force of artillery, and sent an ambassador to Goa to ask for the help of the governor. He promised him that after taking Billgao he would give him the mainland; for this city of Billgao is fifteen leagues from Goa, and its captain is lord of the mainland of Goa. Goa is the frontier or boundary of his city of Billgao and there is one of his captains at a fortress called Pomda[1] which is three leagues from Goa by the mainland, who also receives the revenue and has command over several villages; and in like manner these and others have captains appointed by the Ydallcão, who is lord of the whole land.

While Crisnarao was thus making ready he presently fell sick of the same illness of which all his ancestors had died, with pains in the groin, of which die all the kings of Bisnaga.

Now this King Crisnarao, when he was young and growing up in this city of Bisnaga, had an intrigue with a courtezan,[2] for whom he had much affection, and who was called Chinadevidy,[3] and for the great love he bore her he promised many times that if ever he become King he would marry her; and though he said this in jest, it afterwards became true, so the history records for when raised to the throne and taken away from the things he had done when a young man, he still did not forget the affection he felt for this woman, but used secretly to leave his palace and go to her house. And this was discovered one night by his minister Sallvatinica, who watched him until he had got into the woman's house, and he rebuked him much for

1. The captain of Ponda was Ankus Khân, Sewell, p. 344n.
2. Mother sollteyoa means "immarried gial".
3. An inscription from Tāḍapatri taluk dated A.D. 1512 mentions a certain Cinnādēvi who was an acrobat belonging to "domba" class. Evidences are insufficient to identify this lady with the queen.

it and brought him back to the palace. Then the King told him how well he loved her, and that he had promised to marry this woman and was determined to do so in any case; and the minister, seeing how he was bent on it, gave way to his wish, saying that he would accomplish it in such a way that His Highness would not be blamed for it. In order to do this he sought for him a very beautiful woman of the family of the Kings of Narsymga,[1] and after he had married him to her, at the end of the wedding ceremonies, he put this woman and the other in a house, to which he had added a tower very lofty and large, and in which he lodged her. Afterwards the King married many other wives, for these kings hold it as a very honourable thing to have many wives; and this King Crisnarao married four, and yet he loved this one better than any of the others. This King built a city in honour of this woman for

1. She must be a princess from some royal family. But, from which is not known from other sources. Does the word "Narsymga" stand for a royal family of Kamāṭaka? Was she the daughter of the ruler of Srīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa as he has mentioned earlier.

2. Once again this is the contribution of the copyist or Nuniz for the confusion. According to inscriptions King Kṛṣṇarāya added three suburbs to the capital city Vijayanagara. One was Tirumaledēviyammana paṭṭaṇa which is identical with modern Hospet (S I I vol. IX, pt, ii. no. 539) And, Nāgalāpura was built in the name of his mother Nāgalādēvi; (ibid no 504). Now this place is identical with Nāgēnahalḷi. Third suburb which was contiguous to Tirumaledeviyammana paṭṭana and was named Sale Tirumalarāyana paṭṭaṇa after the name of the young prince—his son who died at the age of six. As the temple built to house the statue of reclining Viṣṇu called Anaantaśayana now this *agglomeration* is now called Anantaśayanaguḍi or Añcanaguḍi. The temple contains a long inscription which is yet to be published. But, there is no town in the name of Cinnādēvi around Hampi. If the queen were called Cinnadēvi then why the town should be named Nāgalāpura? Nuniz's statements are not coherent.

the love he bore her, and called its name Nagallapor[2] and surrounded it with a new wall which is one of the best works that he has in his kingdom, and he made in it a street very long and large with houses all of masonry. In order to people this town he ordered all the chiefs of his kingdom to build themselves palaces therein, and so they did. This town has one principal street, of length four thousand and seven hundred paces[1] and breadth forty, which is certainly the most beautiful street it is possible to see; and he made and finished this town without stinting any expense on it. It now yields forty-two thousand *pardaos* of duties for things which enter into it, the duties in this land being very great; since nothing comes through the gates that does not pay duty, even men and women, as well as head-loads and all merchandise.

This King also made in his time a lake for water, which lies between two very lofty *serras*. But since he had no means in the country for making it, nor any one who could do it, he sent to Goa to ask the Governor to send some Portuguese masons, and the Governor sent him João

1. One *passo* is equal to two feet and a half long. There is a long road connecting Hampi with Hospet. Judging from the traces of a few remnants standing there singing proudly their past lores, probably, Nuniz makes an allusion to this road. Though length wise it has remained the same but width wise it has lost half of its size.

2. From Nuniz's accounts we feel that he had too much of western superiority complex. He boasts about the artillery they have and the technology so much so that sometimes he contradicts his own statements. Earlier he had spoken about the lime and mortar used in the constructions and now he says that it was unknown to Indians. Moreover, this name João della Ponte is a very common name in Italy and there was a della Ponte family of noted engineers by profession. So, for this reason, Nuniz mentions that one of the della Ponte was invited by the king to build a tank as if India did not know the excavation of a tank. During these centuries, Portuguese had much admiration for Italian art, culture and technology. so,

della Ponte,[2] a great worker in stone, to whom the King told how he wanted the tank built, though it seemed to this man (*mestre* modern *maistry*) impossible to be made, nevertheless he told the King he would do it and asked him to have lime prepared at which the King laughed much, for in his country when they build a house they do not understand how to use lime. The King commanded to throw down quantities of stone and cast down many great rocks into the valley, but everything fell to pieces, so that all the work done in the day was destroyed each night, and the King amazed at this, sent to call his wise men and sorcerers and asked them what they thought of this thing. They told him that his idols were not pleased with this work, it being so great and he giving them nothing, and that unless he spilled there the blood of men or women or buffaloes that work would never be finished. So the King sent to bring hither all the men who were his prisoners, and who deserved death, and ordered them there to be beheaded; and with this work advanced. He made a bank across the middle of the valley so lofty and wide that it was a crossbowshot in breadth and length, and had large openings;[1] and below it he put pipes by which the water escaped, and when they wish so to do they close these. By means of this water they made many improvements in the city, and many channels by which they irrigated rice-fields

Nuniz takes pride in saying that an engineer from Italy was invited by the king. But, he does not know that the fabrication of Indian lime was famous for its solidity and much superior than the European lime and mortar. Razzak mentions the stone and mortar in building the fort.

1. "It occupied a large place and below it he puts pipes..." according to Prof. Rouch. Paes has also mentioned this tank. This large tank lies between two hillocks at the entrance of Hospet on the road to or from Harihar or Citradurga. The tank bund is so large that two lorries can cross easily.

and gardens, and in order that they might improve their lands he gave the people the lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years, until they had made their improvements, so that the revenue already amounts to 20,000 *pardaos*..

Above this tank is a very large ridge (*serra*) all enclosed, and in the middle some very strong gates with two towers, one on one side and one on the other; and within are always posted 1000 men on guard. For through this gate all things must enter that come into the two cities, since in order to enter the city of Bisnaga there is no other roads but this, all other roads meeting there. This gate is rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the renters (customs) ask, country folk as well as strangers. In both these cities there is no provision or merchandise whatever, for all comes from outside on pack-oxen, since in this country they always use beasts for burdens; and every day there enter by these gates 2000 oxen, and every one of these pays three *vint ees* except certain pulled oxen without horns, which never pay anything in any part of the realm.

Outside these two cities are fields and places richly cultivated with wheat and gram and rice and millet, for this last is the grain which is most consumed in the land; and next to it betel (*betre*), which is a thing that in the greater part of the country they always eat and carry in the mouth.

CHAPTER XX

How on the death of Crisnarao his brother Achetarao was raised to be king

Before[1] the death of King Crisnarao from his disease as has been before recounted, being sick and already despairing of his life, he made a will, saying that of his three brothers whom, at the time when they raised him to be King he had sent to be confined in the fortress of Camdegary (Candragiri or Chandragiri) with his nephew, son of the King Busbalrao,[2] they should make King his brother Achetarao (Acyutarāya or *Achyutarâya*) who now reigns; for the latter seemed to him to be better fitted for that than any of the others, for the reason that he himself had no son of fit age for the throne, but only one of the age of eighteen months. After his death Salvanay[3] became minister of the kingdom, and governed it till the coming of King Achitarao from the fortress of

1. This chapter starts in this manner: "We have already recounted about the death of King Kṛṣṇarāya following ailment. Well, it so happened that in the course of his sickness when he lost all hopes of recovery, made a testament...." Prof. Rouch's translation, Sewell says that he has given a free translation to avoid the monotony of repeatation of facts. (Sewell, p.348, n.1.)
2. No son of Bhujabala Narasimha is known to us from inscriptions. Whereas his nephew Sadāśivarāya, the son of the last brother Raṅgarāya is well known in the history of Kamāṭaka (Vijayanagara) empire.
3. Probably identical with Sāḷuva Daṇāyaka mentioned in line no.-5 of the inscription no. 533, dated A.D. 1531 April, Saturday; (see S I I IX, pt.ii).

Chamdegary where he was detained. And he further left in his will that he should take Billgao, and should make war on the Ydallcão.

This King Chytarao, after he ascended the throne, gave himself over to vice and tyranny. He is a man of very little honesty, and on account of this the people and the captains are much discontented with his evil life and inclinations; for he has never done anything except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law, who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews[1]. By reason of this the Ydallcão, learning of how little weight he was, determined to make war on him, believing that he would easily succeed since the King was not inclined to war; so he made his forces ready, and began to invade the King's territory, and arrived within a league of the city of Bisnaga. Chetarao was in the city with such great forces and power that he could easily have captured him if his heart had allowed him to take action, since the Ydallcão had with him only 12,000 foot and 30,000 horse; yet with this small force the Ydallcão entered Nagallapor a league from Bisnaga and razed it to the ground. The King never tried to go out against him, nor had he the stomach for a fight, and there were only small skirmishes by some captains, good horsemen. These spoke to the King, asking that His Highness would give them leave to attack, and saying that his own presence was unnecessary for so slight an affair; but the King was terrified, and by the advice of his brother-in law (of which they gave not a little) decided to send and make peace with the Ydallcão. The Ydallcão was very glad and made a peace with him which was to last for a hundred years, on condition that the King should give him ten *lakhs*

1. "Judeus" is in original which means Jews. But, here in this context it does not convey much meaning. Prof. Rouch translates as "perfidy" or "disloyalty".

of gold *pardaos*, each lakh being 100,000 *pardaos*, and further should yield up to him the city of Rachol which the King Crisnarao had taken from him, and which had a revenue with its lands of 15,000 *pardaos*, as well as jewels which could easily be valued at a lakh. The King accepted these terms, and the Ydallcão departed well pleased with this money; and after all was done the King sent to him a diamond stone weighing 130 *mangellinis*, with fifteen other similar ones worth fully a *lakh*. This money he soon afterwards recovered and put in his treasury, exacting payments from his captains and people so ruthlessly that they say that in six months he had recovered and put the whole in his treasury.

Wherefore the captains and troops, both because he made this peace and because he exacted this sum of money contrary to the wishes of them all, have lived greatly discontented and had held that if this kingdom should ever be brought to destruction, it must take place in the lifetime of King Chitarao; for he had destroyed the principal people of his kingdom and killed their sons and taken their goods, all owing to the bad counsel of his brother-in-law, by whom he was dominated.

I will tell you of one who was called Crisnaranarque (Kṛṣṇappanāyaka) whom he seized one night, and who, before he surrendered himself, killed all his wives, in number two hundred, and then killed himself with poison in presence of the King. This was because the King wanted to kill his son in his presence. By sale of the captain's arms, namely daggers, swords, spears, battleaxes and other things, which were all ornamented with gold and silver, the King realised more than 3000 *pardaos*. In this way the kingdom has been deprived of its principal men and of those who sustain it, wherefore the Ydallcão holds it in so little esteem that he puts upon it every day a thousand

affronts and requisitions. Of this King there is nothing more so far to recount, save that he is a man that they hold to be of little force of character, and very negligent of the things which most concern the welfare of his kingdom and State.[1]

1. Nuniz tells everything with much exaggeration. Acyutarāya was more a man of peace and arts than a man of arms. This can be strengthened by quoting the examples of constructions of temples, other such religious monuments and generous grants made for the perpetuity of religious ceremonies. And also suburbs were added to the capital with large temples.

CHAPTER XXI

Of the manner of attendance on these kings, which is as follows. What follows concerns the reign of Achyuta Raya.

All the service of this house, with the things which they make use of, is of silver and gold that is to say basins and bowls, stools, ewers, and other vessels of that sort. The bedsteads in which his wives sleep are covered and adorned with silver plates. Every wife has her bed in which she sleeps, and that of the King is plated and lined and has all its legs of gold, its mattress of silk, and its round bolster worked round the ends with large seed pearls. It has four pillows of the same pattern for the feet, and has no other sheet than a silk cloth on top. He always carries with him a mosquito curtain[1] with a frame of silver, and he has a house made of pieces of iron in which is contained a very large bed, which is intended for such time as he takes the field.

1. Sewell in notes corrects his translation of "mosquito-net". "He had also consulted Senhor Lopes who suggested him that it must be "*ciel du lit*" of the frame-work that holds curtain." See Sewell's *A Forgotten....*It must be a canopy, in Kannaḍa "cappara". Effectively, Timmappanāyaka and his younger brother Raghuvappa, sons of Uddi Timmappanāyaka, were in the service of "cappara" or canopy of the king. They financed the services of embellishing the eastern and northern gopuras of Viṭhala temple in the capital, with golden "*Kalása*" or pinnacles. S I I IX, pt. ii no. 586 & 589. Also in Pierre-Sylvain and Vasundhara Filliozat, ibid, no. XIII & XIV, pp. 65-66.

He has five hundred wives and as many less or more as he wants, with whom he sleeps; and all of these burn themselves at his death. When he journeys to any place he takes twenty-five or thirty of his most favourite wives, who go with him, each one in her palanqueen with poles. The palanqueen[1] of the principal wife is all covered with scarlet cloth tasselled with large and heavy work in seed-pearls and pearls, and the pole itself is ornamented with gold. The palanqueens of the other wives are ornamented only with silver, but another palanqueen, which is for his own person, always goes on the right side, and is in the same way decorated with gold. For a son or a daughter, if such an one goes with him, he takes another bedstead of ivory inlaid with gold; and when he takes the field, wherever he pitches his camp there they make for him houses of stone and clay, for he does not stay in a tent, and he always has these decorated with cloths.

In his palace within the gates he is served by women and eunuchs and servants numbering fully five or six hundred; and these wives of the King all have their own officials for their service, each for herself, just as the King has within the gates, but these are all women. The palaces of the King are large and with large rooms; they have cloisters like monasteries, with cells, and in each one is one of his wives, and with each of these ladies is her maid-servant; and when the King retires to rest he passes through these cloisters, and his wives stand at the doors and call him in; but these are not the principal wives, they are the daughters of captains and nobles of the country. Inside the gates of the palace they say that there are over two hundred milch-cows, from the milk of which they make butter for these ladies to eat.

1. It is a kind of litter for carrying people.

The King has no expense in connection with his food, because the nobles send it, to him every day to his house, namely rice and wheat and meat and fowls with all other necessary things. In the kitchen there are some two hundred inferior guards, and four over it, and two chief officers of the guard; and those who are now captains of the guard of this king are called, one Pedanayque (Peddanāyaka) and the other Ajanaique (Ajjappanāyaka), they are also captains of soldiers; these porters do not go further inside than through four or five doors, because inside of these are none but eunuchs and women.

When the King rides out there go with him usually two hundred horsemen of his guard whom he pays, and a hundred elephants, and this in addition to the captains, forty or fifty in number, who are always in attendance with their soldiers. He takes with him two thousand men with shields (*adargueiros* in the original), all men of good position, ranged in order on the flanks, and in front goes the chief *alcaid*[1] with about thirty horsemen having canes in their hands like porters; the chief *alcaid* bears a different wand; he who is now the chief *alcaid* of this King is called Chinapanaique (Cinnappanāyaka). Behind with the rear guard goes the Master of the Horse with two hundred horsemen, and behind the cavalry go a hundred elephant, and on their backs ride men of high estate. He has in front of him twelve destriers, saddled, and in front of these horses go five elephants, specially for the King's person, and in front of these elephants go about five-and-twenty horsemen with banners in their hands, and with drums and

1. "Governors of fortress," (Prof. Rouch.) They hold sticks in their hands. As they hold stick (*kaṭṭige* in Kannada), the prefix "Kaṭṭige" was added to their names i.e. "kaṭṭige Ahmad Khan" who was a body-guard of Dēvarāya II. He built a free feeding house for merit (puṇya) of his King. S I I IX, pt, ii, no. 447.

trumpets and other music playing so loudly that you can hear nothing. Before these goes a great drum carried by men at the sides, and they go now and then striking it; the sound of this is heard a long distance off; and this drum they call *picha*. After the King has mounted he counts the two hundred horsemen and the hundred elephants and the shield-bearers of the guard, and whoever is missing is severely punished and his property confiscated.

CHAPTER XXII

Of the manner in which obeisance is done to the King &c.

The manner of the salaam which the nobles make to the King every day is this:- In the morning the nobles go to the palace at ten or eleven o'clock, at which hour the King comes out from within where his wives are, and after he has taken his seat they open the doors[1] to the nobles, and each one comes by himself and bows his head and raises his hands. This is what they call the "salaam" *(salema)*. With the king are about ten or twelve men who have the duty, on the entrance of each captain, of saying to the King: "See, your Highness, your captain so-and-so, who makes salaam to you."

The Kings of Bisnaga have always liked, for show, to have many horses in their stables, and they always had eight or nine hundred horses and four or five hundred elephants, on account of which, and on account of the people that looked after them, they were put to great expense; and this King that now is (*Achyuta Râya)* has in his stable seven hundred and odd horses and four hundred elephants. He spends on account of them and for their attendants, to whom he gives food, two thousand gold *pardaos* per day. And of horsemen whom the King pays he has six thousand, and all of them are on the stables establishment (?) (*comem da estrebarya*); and those who serve them are paid each year, some a thousand *pardaos*,

1. This word has been omitted in Sewell's text.

some five hundred, some three hundred, and those who have less pay receive not less than a hundred. Of these six thousand, two hundred are obliged to ride with the King.

The kings of this country are able to assemble as many soldiers as they want, as they have them there in their kingdom and have much wealth wherewith to pay them. This King Chitarao has foot-soldiers paid by his nobles, and they are obliged to maintain six *lakhs* of soldiers, that is six hundred thousand men, and twenty-four thousand horse, which the same nobles are obliged to have. These nobles are like renters who hold all the land from the King, and besides keeping all these people they have to pay their cost; they also pay to him every year sixty *lakhs* of rents as royal dues. The lands, they say, yield a hundred and twenty *lakhs* of which they must pay sixty to the King, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain. For this reason the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical. Of these sixty *lakhs* that the king has of revenue every year he does not enjoy a larger sum than twenty-five lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses, and elephants and foot-soldiers, and cavalry, whose cost he defrays.

During his feasts and the almsgiving to his temples all these captains, who are thus like renters, must always attend the court, and of those whom this King always has about him and by whom he is accompanied in his court there are more than two hundred. These are obliged always to be present with the King, and must always maintain the full number of soldiers according to their obligations, for if he finds that they have a less number they are severely punished and their estates confiscated. These nobles are never suffered to settle themselves in cities or

towns because they would there be beyond reach of his hand[1]; they only go thither sometimes. But a concession is granted to the kings that are subject to him, namely they do not go to court unless they are summoned, and from their own cities they send to him their rents or tributes; yet the King of Bengapor is obliged to be always in camp, and he goes to court twice in the year.

The kings who are subject are these, besides this King of Bengapor, namely the King of Gasopa (*Gersoppa*) and the King of Bacanor and the King of Calecu[2] and he of Batecala and these when they come to the Court of Bisnaga are not held in higher esteem than any other captains, either by the King or by the other nobles.

The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga, as well those who are at Court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the King is doing; and they manage so that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know, and day and night they are always in the palace. And the King also, when he leaves the palace, takes with him on his own account secretaries, who write what the King says, and the favours he bestows, and with whom he spoke, and upon what subject, and what his determination was; and to these men is given a credit to that of the Evangelists, because they say that whenever the King speaks there must be something worthy to be recorded, and also that such a record is necessary for their remembrance. Thus no written orders are ever

1. "These Captains are never lodged in cities or towns because in the latter the King appoints men of his choice" according to Prof. Rouch's translation.
2. In "Calecu" the "c" is pronounced as "k". In that case the word will be "Kaleku" probably identical with Calicut. If it is read as "sa" or "ça" then it may be "Kaḷasa" in Kamāṭaka.

issued, nor any charters granted, for the favours he bestows or the commands he gives; but when he confers a favour on any one it remains written in the registers of these secretaries[1]. The King however gives to the recipient of the favour a seal impressed in wax from one of his rings, which his minister keeps, and these seals serve for letters patent.

These Kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill in all the country of the heathen because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds; even sparrows, and rats, and cats, and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga.

Everything has to be sold alive so that each one may know what he buys—this at least so far as concerns game—and there are fish from the rivers in large quantities. The markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, limes, pomegranates, jack-fruit, and mangoes, and all very cheap. It is said that in the markets they give twelve live sheep for a *pardao*, and in the hills they give fourteen or fifteen for a *pardao*. The King drinks water which they bring from a spring, which is kept enclosed under the hand of a man in whom the King has great confidence; and the vessels in which they draw the water come covered and sealed. Thus they deliver it to the women who wait on him, and they take it inside to the other women, the King's wives.

The greatest mark of honour that this King of Bisnaga confers on a noble consists of two fans ornamented with gold and precious stones, made of the white tails of certain

1. Unfortunately these archives are lost to historians forever.

cows, he gives them bracelets[1] also. Everything which the noble receives is placed on the ground. The King confers very high honour, too, if he permits a certain one to kiss his feet[2], for he never gives his hands to be kissed by any one. When he wishes to please his captains, or persons from whom he has received or wishes to receive good service, he gives them scarves of honour[3] for their personal use, which is a great honour; and this he does each year to the captains at the time that they pay him their land-rents. This takes place in the month of September when for nine days they make great feasts. Some say that they do this in honour of the nine months during which Our Lady bore her Son in the womb; others say that it is only done because at this time the captains come to pay their rents to the King. Which feasts are conducted in the following manner.

The first day they put nine castles in a piece of ground which is in front of the palace, which castles are made by the nine principal captains in the kingdom. They are very lofty and are hung with rich cloths, and in them are many

1. Cauri or Chauri refers to a whisk made of Kapile cow's tail or that of Yak. It is a kind of fan and having this is considered to be great honour. Also receiving bracelets was another honour. There were different bracelets for extra-ordinary qualities of heroes in wars, for literary laureates etc.
2. Kissing is considered to be a sign of honour and affection in Europe. Nuniz tries to see it here without understanding our *manière* of salutation. In the South, the feet of elderly people are either touched by the forehead of one who prostrates or sometimes touches the feet with hands and then one's own mouth, eyes and chest.
3. Scarves of honour is nothing but "Śālusamārambha" or honouring a person with a shawl along with money, betel leaves etc. This is considered as highest honour to be conferred on noted literary figures, war heroes and others who have accomplished alike noteworthy actions.

dancing-girls and also many kinds of contrivances. Besides these nine every captain is obliged to make each one his castle, and they come to show these to the King. Each one has his separate device, and they all come like this during the nine days of the feast. The officers of the city are bound to come with their devices each day at night, just as in our festivals, and in these nine days they slaughter animals and make sacrifice. The first day they kill nine male buffaloes and nine sheep and nine goats, and thenceforward they kill each day more, always doubling the number; and when they have finished slaying these beasts, there come nine horses and nine elephants of the King, and these come before the king covered with flowers-roses-and with rich trappings. Before them goes the chief Master of the Horse with many attendants, and they make salaam to the King. And when these have finished making their salaam there come from within priests, and they bring rice and other cooked edibles, and water, and fire[1], and many kinds of scents, and they offer prayers and throw the water over the horses and elephants, just (as our priests do with) holy water; and they put chaplets of roses on them. This is done in the presence of the King, who remains seated on a throne of gold and precious stones; he never sits on this except only this once in the year. And this King that now reigns does not sit on it, for they say that whoever sits on it must be a very truthful man, one who speaks the whole truth, and this King never does so. Whilst this is going on there pass by the King fully a thousand women, dancing and posturing before him. After all the devices that have been prepared have been witnessed all the horses of the King pass by, covered with their silken trappings, and with much adornment of gold and precious stones on their

1. Flames of camphor and alike flames during rituals, perhaps appeared to Nuniz like fire.

heads, and then all the elephants and yokes of oxen[1] in the middle of the arena in front of the palace. After these have been seen there come thirty-six of the most beautiful of the King's wives covered with gold and pearls, and much work of seed-pearls, and in the hands of each a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it; and with these women come all the female servants and the other wives of the King, with canes in their hands tipped with gold[2] and with torches burning; and these then retire inside with the King. These women are so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move[3].

In this way during these nine days they are compelled to search for all things which will give pleasure to the King.

The King has a thousand wrestlers for these feasts who wrestle before the King, but not in our manner, for they strike and wound each other with two circlets with points which they carry in their hands to strike with, and the one most wounded goes and takes his reward in the shape of a silk cloth, such as the King gives to these wrestlers. They have a captain over them, and they do not

1. Sewell says that the meaning is doubtful but Prof. Rouch also gives the same translation as "A paire of oxen". Sewell further adds in the note: "In the Canarese country these are often handsomely decorated and clothed when attached to travelling vehicles" (p. 358, n. 2.). Not only for travelling but during festivals oxen are decorated and taken in procession. Even to-day, in Mysore palace, during Kṛṣṇa festival all royal elephants, horses, oxen and cows are decorated in the manner described by Nuniz.
2. Does he speak of "kōlāṭa"? the most popular folk dance of South India.
3. Compared to ballet dancers in Europe Indian dancers are bedecked with ornaments, dresses and other decorations. It is likely that the slow movements of dances made the Portuguese visitors to think that the ladies cannot move fast due to their heavy ornamentation.

perform any other service in the kingdom.

And after these nine days are finished the Rao[1] rides out and goes to hold a review of the troops of his captains, and he goes a length of two leagues between the armed men. At the end he dismounts and takes a bow in his hand and shoots three arrows, namely one for the Ydallcão, and another for the King of Cotamuloco (Qutb Shah), and yet another for the Portuguese; it was his custom to make war on the kingdom lying in the direction where the arrow reached furthest. After this is done the King returns home, and on that day he fasts and with him all the people of the land; and on the next day he goes to the river to bathe with all his people. Within these nine days the King is paid all the rents that he receives from his kingdom; for, as already said, all the land belongs to the King and from his hand the captains hold it. They make it over to the husbandmen who pay nine-tenths to their lord; and they have no land of their own, for the kingdom belonged entirely to the King[2]; only

1. "reyno" in published text of Senhor Lopez. Reyno is equivalent of Rājā. Note that after nine days festival is over on the tenth day the king reviews his army. Paes also speaks of it in his chronicle. By and large, this is nine days festival but in Kamāṭaka it continues for ten days. That is why in Kamāṭaka this festival is also called "Dasarā"—ten day festival.
2. Sewell in note writes: "Whether true or not, this statement, coming as it does from a totally external source, strongly supports the view often held that the ryots of South India were grievously oppressed by the nobles when subject to Hindu government. Other passages in both these chronicles, each of which was written quite independently of the other, confirm the assertion here made as to the mass of the people being ground down and living in the greatest poverty and distress". (p. 360, no.1). Though the situation worsened in the times of the British, Sewell tries to put the blame on the ancient Indian administrative system. This he does probably to justify his own government's administration.

the captains are put to charges on account of the troops for whom the King makes them responsible, and whom they are obliged to provide in the way of service. Every Saturday the dancing-girls are obliged to go to the palace to dance and posture before the King's idol, which is in the interior of his palace. The people of this country always fast on Saturdays and do not eat all day nor even at night, nor do they drink water, only they may chew a few cloves to sweeten the breath. The king always gives large sums in charity; in the palace there are always two or three thousand Brahmans who are his priests, and to whom the King commands to give alms. These Brahman priests are very despicable men; they always have much money, and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check.

The captains and principal people use at night torches of oil, from four to twelve torches (according to rank), those of highest rank having twelve at most. The King, however, must have a hundred or a hundred and fifty torches. There is much wax in the country, but they do not know how to work it. Every merchant who brings merchandise in horses and other things which he may have brought to sell to the King, if he desires an audience, has to offer him a present of a piece of goods or a horse of the best that he has brought, in order that he may obtain an audience and transact his business. And this not only to the King. You must perforce pay bribes to all the several officers with whom you have to deal. They will do nothing without some profit to themselves.

When any one suffers wrong and wishes to represent his case to the King he shows how great is his suffering by lying flat on his face on the ground till they ask him what it is he wants. If, perchance, he wishes to speak to the King while he is riding, he takes the shaft of a spear and ties a

branch to it and thus goes along calling out. Then they make room for him, and he makes his complaint to the King; and it is there and then settled without more ado, and the King orders a captain, one of those who go with him, to do at once what the supplicant asks. If he complains that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the King sends immediately for the captain of that province, even though he be at court, and the captain may be seized and his property taken if he does not catch the thief. In the same way the chief bailiff is obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital, and in consequence very few thefts take place; and even if some are committed, you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thief be in the city or not; for there are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the land.

This King has continually fifty thousand paid soldiers, amongst whom are six thousand horsemen who belong to the palace guard, to which six thousand belong the two hundred who are obliged to ride with him. He has also twenty thousand spearmen and shield-bearers (adargueiros), and three thousand men to look after the elephants in the stables; he has sixteen hundred grooms[1] who attend to the horses, and has also three hundred horse trainers and two thousand[2] artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters and washermen who wash clothes. These are the people he has and pays every day; he gives

1. In the original it is "setecentos". Sewell translates it as "*sixteen hundred grooms*" whereas Prof. Rouch "one thousand seven hundred palefreniers (grooms)".
2. In the original it is "doze milhl hofiçyaes". Sewell translates it as "two thousand" whereas Prof. Rouch as "twelve thousand artisans."

them their allowance at the gate of the palace. To the six thousand horsemen the King gives horses free and gives provision for them every month, and all these horses are marked with the King's mark; when they die they are obliged to take the piece of skin containing the mark to Madanarque,[1] the chief master of the horse so that he may give them another, and these horses which he gives are mostly country-breds which the King buys, twelve or fifteen for a thousand *pardaos*. The King every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz, and country-breds, of which he chooses the best for his own stables, and he gives the rest to his captains, and gains much money by them; because after taking out the good Persian horses, he sells those which are country-bred, and gives five for a thousand *pardaos*, and they are obliged to pay him the money for them within the month of September; and with the money so obtained he pays for the Arabs that he buys of the Portuguese, in such a way that his captains pay the cost of the whole without anything going out of the Treasury.

This King has also within his gates more than four thousand women, all of whom live in the palace; some are dancing-girls, and others are bearers who carry the King's wives on their shoulders, and the King also in the interior of the palace, for the king's houses are large and there are great intervals between one house and another. He has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside, he has women also for music, who play

1. In the original it is "Amadanarque".

instruments and sing. Even the wives[1] of the King are well versed in music.

The King has other women besides. He has ten cooks for his personal service, and has others kept for times when he gives banquets; and these ten prepare the food for no one save for the King alone. He has a eunuch for guard at the gate of the kitchen, who never allows any one to enter for fear of poison. When the King wishes to eat, every person withdraws, and then come some of the women whose duty it is and they prepare the table for him; they place for him a three-footed stool,[2] round, made of gold, and on, it put the messes. These are brought in large vessels of gold, and the smaller messes in basins of gold, some of which are adorned with precious stones. There is no cloth on the table, but one is brought when the King has finished eating, and he washes his hands and mouth. Women and eunuchs serve him at table. The wives of the King remain each in her own chamber and are waited on by

1. Tirumalāmbā was one of the queens of King Acyutarāya. She had literary and musical talents and wrote a *kāvya* entitled "Varadāmbīkāpariṇaya" which describes the marriage of her lord the king with his principal queen Varadāmbikā. Besides, the composition of the texts of two epigraphs is also at her credit and set them to music too when the king made important grants "Suvarṇamēru" and "Ānandanidhi". These two inscriptions are engraved on the walls of many temples in Hampi and as well as in many other places. S I I IX, pt. ii, no. 557, ibid, vol. IV. nos. 256-257; P-S. & V. Filliozat, *Hampi-Vijayanagar*, p. 59-60; 66-68.

2. This is a kind of tripod which was used very much in the kitchen and in the rituals. Priorty the introduction of the dining table in Indian food habits the plate in which food to be served was placed on a tripod before service and consumption. These tripods were either in iron or bronze and in silver amongst very rich senhors. Of course, in India food is eaten by hand. So, it is but natural to wash hands and mouth before and after food whereas, in Europe spoons and forks were and are in use.

maid-servants. It is said that he has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and all these are women.

The King never puts on any garment more than once, and when he takes it off he at once delivers it to certain officers who have charge of this duty, and they render an account; and these garments are never given to any one. This is considered to show great state. His cloths are silk cloths (*pachōiis*)[1] of very fine material and worked with gold, which are worth each one ten *pardaos*; and they wear at times *bajuris* of the same sort, which are like shirts with a skirt; and on the head they wear caps of brocade which they call *culaes*,[2] and one of these is worth some twenty cruzados. When he lifts it from his head he never again puts it on.

The punishments that they inflict in this kingdom are these: for a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin[3] he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and

1. In some inscriptions a kind of silk known as *"paṭṭesīre"* is mentioned. (S I I IX, pt. ii, no. 547-548; line.3). Probably, Nuniz refers to this paṭṭe or silk material which he calls "pacholis or paṭola". A friend of mine tells me that "paṭola or pachōii" is from Gujrath.
2. A kind of cap worn by men. Even to-day the word "kulāya" is used in Kannaḍa for a kind of cap (bonnet) used for the new born babies. Also see in other chronicles.
3. Sewell has omitted these words: "compel a virgin to sleep with him" Rouch.

the same for a murder unless the death was the result of a duel. For great honour is done to those who fight in a duel, and they give the estate of the dead man to the survivor; but no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister, who forthwith grants it. These are the common kinds of punishments, but they have others more fanciful; for when the King so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants,[1] and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the King that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it.

The officers of the King who go about the kingdom are these:—First the minister (*regedor*) of the kingdom, who is the second person in it, then the treasurer, with the scribes of the King's own lands,[2] the chief treasurer, and the commander of the palace guards (*o porteiro moor*), the treasurer of the jewels, the chief master of the horse. The King has no controller of the revenues nor other officers, nor officers of his house, but only the captains of his kingdom; of whom I will here mention some, and the revenues they hold, and of what territory they are lords.

Firstly Salvanayque[3], the present minister; he has a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *pardaos*.

1. Stampaded by an elephant was quite a common punishment in those days and not a fanciful one.
2. There is a word "escrivão de fazenda" in the original which Sewell had translated as "scribes of the king's own land," whereas Prof. Rouch translates it as "the notaries of domaines." Being not sure of his translation Sewell gives an unnecessary long foot-note on this system. *A Forgotten*....pp. 364-365.
3. Probably identical with Sāḷuva-Daṇāyaka; *Ante* .S I I IX, pt ii, no. 533.) According to Nuniz Sāḷuvanāyaka was a minister and lord of Cōḷamaṇḍala, Nāgapaṭṭaṇa, Tāñjāvur (Tanjore), Brahmagiri, Dēvipaṭṭaṇa, Tirukkoyilūr, Kovil i.e. Śrīraṅgam respectively..

He is lord of Charamāodel and of Nagapatão, and Tamgor, and Bomgarin, and Dapatao, and Truguel and Caullim, and all these are cities; their territories are all very large, and they border on Ceylon. Of this money he is obliged to give a third to the King, and two-thirds remain for the expenses of his *lascaris*[1] and horses, which he is obliged to maintain for the King, viz., thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse and thirty elephants; so that he only gets the balance after deducting the expenses of this force. But in this way he acquires much wealth because he never maintains the whole force. And the King, whenever he wishes, takes away property of these nobles.

Another captain Ajaparcatimapa,[2] who was minister of Crisnarao, has a revenue of eight hundred thousand *pardaos* of gold; and is lord of the city of Hudogary, and of the city of Condovim and of the city of Penagundim, and of Codegaral of Cidaota[3]. All these large cities border on the kingdom of Oria, and some of them with Cape Comorin (*cabo de comary*). These lands Crisnarao gave him when he made him minister and put out the eyes of Salvatinica, this minister, who was captain of them. He is obliged to serve with twenty-five thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse[4], and forty elephants, and pays each year to the King three hundred thousand *pardaos*.

1. Lascaris in Portuguese is soldiers, according to Prof. Rouch's translation.
2. Same as Ajjappa? see note above.
3. Udayagiri, Koṇḍavīḍu, Penugoṇḍe, Kanakagiri and Caulkere near Siddhavaṭa respectively. Sewell, p. 366.
4. In the original it is "quinhentos de cavallo". Sewell translated as "fifteen hundred horse" whereas Prof. Rouch "five hundred horse" and he is right. In note Sewell writes "....It cannot be supposed that this chief had to provide 25,000 horse". There is no question of 25,000 horse in the text. Only 25,000 foot and five hundred horse.

Another captain, who is called Gapanayque[1], is lord of these lands, namely of Rosyl, and of Tipar, and of Ticalo, and of Bigolom.[2] These lands march with the territory of the Ydallcão, and in all these there is much wheat and grains[3] and cattle and goats and gingely and cotton, and very fine cloth made of the last, for all the cloth[4] that is manufactured is made of it. He has a revenue from these territories of six hundred thousand *pardaos*, and is obliged to furnish two thousand five hundred horse, and twenty thousand foot, and twenty elephants, and he pays every year to the King a hundred and fifty thousand *pardaos*.

Another captain called Lepapayque,[5] who is lord of Vimgapor,[6] a land very rich in seed-plots and cattle-breeding farms, has a revenue of three hundred thousand *pardaos*, and is obliged to furnish twelve hundred horse and twenty thousand foot and twenty-eight elephants, and he pays to the King every year eighty thousand *pardaos*. The treasurer of the jewels, who is called Narvara[7], is captain of the new city which is called Ondegema, and is lord of the city of

1. Gōpanāyaka.
2. Tical must be Tākali near Belgaum and Bigolam is Belgaum and Sewell identifies Rosyl with Rachol near Goa See *A Forgotten.....*, p. 367;
3. Sewell always translates it as "grains"; Prof. Rouch says its is "pois-chiches" i.e. Bengal gram. This bengal gram is much cultivated in the region of Belgaum and North Karnātaka which was then contigious to the territory of Ādil khān.
4. Indian cotton cloth was much appreciated in the west. "Belle come une indienne beautiful like Indian (cloth) was a great compliment given to ladies during the times of Louis XIV in France.
5. Yellappanāyaka.
6. Baṅkāpura or Bankāpura South of Dhawar, See Sewell...
7. Naraharī, captain of Varadājammana paṭṭana a new town built by Acyutarāya in love for his principal queen Varadājamma. Ondagema of Nuniz and Ardegema of Paes must be one and the same.

Diguoty and of Darguem and of Entarem, and of the other lands bordering on the lands of Bisnaga[1]; they are all fields. They yield him every year four hundred thousand *pardaos*, of which he gives the King two hundred thousand and the rest he spends on twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse and twenty elephants.

Another captain called Chinapanayque, the King's marshal, is lord of the land of Calaly[2] in the direction of Cochim in the interior, and of many other lands that yield him three hundred thousand *pardaos*; and he is obliged to pay the King every year one hundred thousand *pardaos*, and serves with eight hundred horse and ten thousand foot (*praços*).

Crisnapanayque[3] is lord of Aōsel, which is a large city, and of other villages that I do not here mention as they have very difficult names. These lands yield him every year twenty thousand *pardaos* of gold, and he pays an annual revenue to the King of seven thousand *pardaos*, and serves with five hundred horse and seven hundred foot (*pracos*).

Also Bajapanarque, who is captain of the country of Bodial, which borders of Mamgalor by the sea-coast. He is lord too of Guiana.[4] In this country there is much pepper

1. Here the Portuguese horse merchant is speaking of the capital "Bisnaga" and the places mentioned by him can be identified with Durgāvati? or Gaṅgāvati, Dārōji, Antāpura near Hospet and they are along the borders of the capital city Hampi-Vijayanagar.
2. Sewell identifies Calaly with modern Kalale near Mysore. Cochim is Cochin.
3. Aōsel is Hoysala and Kṛṣṇappanāyaka was the lord of Hoyasaḷadēśa i.e. old Hoysaḷa empire comprising of Belūr, Haḷebīdu and other parts of old Mysore.
4. Bodial must be present day "Baṇṭvāḷa" not far from Mangalore. Guina must be Gokaṇa. All are on the west-coast and much pepper is produced there. Sewell, says "cloth (of flax)" is produced. In note he says it is linen cloth.

and sugarcane and cloth (of flax) and much rice; but there is no wheat, nor other cloth,[1] and it is a land of wax. It yields him three hundred thousand *pardaos* a year, and he serves with eight hundred horsemen and ten thousand foot and fifteen elephants. He pays the King ten thousand *pardaos*.

Mallpanarque, who was chief master of the horse to King Crisnarao, is lord of the country of Avaly,[2] which is in the interior of Calecu. This land has much iron and much cotton, rice, goats, sheep, cows and buffaloes. He has a revenue of fifteen thousand *pardaos*, and is obliged to serve with four hundred horse and six thousand foot, and pays the King every year five thousand *pardaos*.

Another captain, called Adapanayque, who is the chief counsellor of the King, is lord of the country of Gate,[3] whence come the diamonds, and of many other territories which yield him three hundred thousand gold *pardaos*, excluding the precious stones which form a revenue by themselves. He pays to the King every year forty thousand *pardaos*, with the condition that all diamonds which exceed twenty *mangelins* in weight shall be given to the King for his Treasury. He serves with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse and thirty elephants, and pays the King every year one hundred thousand *pardaos*.

1. "Nem outra cousa" has been transcribed by Senhor Lopes as "outra roupa". So, Sewell in the same foot-note continues to write that cotton did not grow in that tract. But, according to Prof. Rouch's reading from the original manuscript preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale, "The territories which produce quantity of pepper, sugar, cotton, and much rice but wheat is not grown nor any other thing."
2. Mallappanāyaka, chief master of Āvani of Kōlār? Then Calecu is Kolār? It is not clear.
3. Ādappanāyaka, lord of Ghat or Gutti? Must be Gutti. as Sewell identifies.

Another Bajapanayque (Vaijayappanāyaka) is captain of Mumdoguel (Mudgal), which was a fortress of the Ydallcão, and was taken from him by Crisnarao when he took Rachol, which was a boundary of it. This fortress of Mumdoguel with other territories yields him four hundred thousand *pardaos*, and he serves with a thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot and fifty elephants, and pays the King every year one hundred and fifty thousand *pardaos*.

In this way the Kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have so the King setties for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of September. He never gives any receipts to them, only, if they do not pay they are well punished, and are ruined and their property taken away. All the captains of this kingdom make use of litters and palanqueens. These are like biers and men carry them on their shoulders, but people are not allowed to make use of litters unless they are cavaliers of the highest rank, and the captains and principal persons use palanqueens. There are always at the court where the King is twenty thousand litters and palanqueens.

These matters concerning (i.e. the power and greatness of) the kingdom of Bisnaga, though it may seem to you that I have exaggerated, yet the people of this country assert them to have been even more notable in times past, and greater than they now are.

And in this kingdom of Bisnaga there is a class of men, natives of the country, namely Brahmans, who the most part of them never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that there are amongst them. They are honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent,

very good at accounts, lean men and well-formed, but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake the kingdom is carried on. They believe that there are Three Persons and only One God, and they call the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity *"Tricebemca"*[1]. There is another class who are Canarese[2] who have pagodas in which are (images of?) monkeys, and cows, and buffaloes, and devils, to whom they pay much honour, and these idols and monkeys which they adore they say that in former times this land belonged all to the monkeys,[3] and that in those days they could speak. They have books full of fine stories of chivalry, and many foolish tales about their idols, such as it is out of reason for men to believe. But because of this,

1. Three gods namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara. They are called "Trimūrti" and Viṣṇu is called "Triyaṃbaka".
2. In the original it is "canaras" and mostly Nuniz meant the people of Canara that is the residents of West-coast where along with all gods devils "Bhūta" are worshipped. Hanumān the monkey god is much worshipped due to Mādhva predominance.
3. This, definitely an allusion to Rāmāyaṇa the epic in which Hanumān and others pertaining to monkey class play an important role. Hampi is said to be the birth place of Hanumān and in Rāmāyaṇa this place along with its surrounding area was ruled by two monkey kings Vālin and his younger brother Sugrīva. Moreover, by the time Nuniz visited Vijayanagara the kingdom was very much under the influence of Mādhva culture due to the presence of Śripādarāya and Vyāsarāya who were royal preceptors of Sāḷuvas and Kṛṣṇarāya respectively. To Mādhvas, their guru Madhvācārya is an incarnation of Hanumān. Consequently, God Hanumān is very much worshipped by them and they do not do any harm to monkeys.
Buffalo (Mahiṣāsura), being a ferocious demon was menacing the tranquillity of the earth. So, Goddess Durgā with the help of the energies and arms of all Gods came to the earth to put an end to the life of then demon. Since then She is worshipped in the temple along with the dying demon at her feet.

neither in the kingdom of Bisnaga nor in all the land of the heathen are any monkeys killed, and there are so many in this country that they cover the mountains. There is another class of men called Telumgalle[1]; when these die their wives are buried alive with them.

The King of Bisnaga is a Brahman[2]; every day he hears the preaching of a learned Brahman, who never married nor even touched a woman; He urges in his preaching (obedience to) the commandments of God, that is to say, that one must not kill any living thing, nor take anything belonging to another, and as with these so with the rest of the commandments. These people have such devotion to cows[3] that they they kiss them every day, some they say even on the rump—a thing I do not assert for their honour—and with the droppings of these cows they absolve themselves[4] from their sins as if with holy water. They have for a commandment to confess their sins

1. It was customary amongst the Liṅgāyats or Vīrasaiva that the dead is buried. So, their wives, when, wished to commit "sati" then they were buried alive. There are also many other's accounts on this mode of Sati.
2. Here the word "brahman" stands to denote "cultured or learned." So, what Nuniz's informant meant to say was that the king was a learned man and everyday he listened to the preaching of a Brahman who was his guru. As Acyutarāya was a cultured and a well read king, the informant had said the "the King was a Brahman".
3. Right from antiquity India was an agricultural country, cow was worshipped so that her calves, future bulls or oxen, will be used for cultivation of lands. So, she was given the status of "Kāmadhēnu" the cow which grants all wishes. Besides, cow's droppings have medicinal values. So, they were very much used in the house till the introduction of allopathic medicines.
4. Besmearing the face and body with white ashes was very much in practice amongst all kinds of Śaivaites including the waning class of Pāśupatas.

to the Brahman priests, but they do not do it, except only those who are very religious (*amiguos de Dios*). They give in excuse that they feel a shame to confess themselves to another man, and say that it is sufficient to confess themselves alone after approaching God, for he who does not do so does not acquire grace; thus they fulfil the command in one way or another. But they do it so seldom (in reality that)[1] they (may be said to) neglect this command to confess.

This kingdom of Bisnaga is all heathen. The women, have the custom of burning themselves when their husbands die,[2] and hold it an honour to do so. When therefore their husbands die they mourn with their relations and those of their husbands, but they hold that the wife who weeps beyond measure has no desire to go in search of her husband; and the mourning finished their relations speak to them, advising them to burn themselves and not to dishonour their generation. After that, it is said, they place the dead man on a bed with a canopy of branches and covered with flowers, and they put the woman on the back of worthless horse, and she goes after them with many jewels on her, and covered with roses; she carries a mirror in her hand and in the other a branch of flowers, and (she goes accompanied by) many kinds of music, and his relations (go with her) with much pleasure. A man goes also playing on a small drum, and he sings songs to her telling her that she is going to join her husband, and she

1. According to Prof. Rouch's translation: "So, they set themselves to obey his commandments in one way or the other but in reality they do not obey."
2. This is the "Sati or sahagamana" which right from Alexander or Cicero's time Europeans have talked about. They were wonderstruck at this heroic custom of women of India facing the death so courageously.

answers also in singing that so she will do. As soon as she arrives at the place where they are always burned she waits with the musicians till her husband is burned, whose body she waits with the musicians till her husband is burned, whose body they place in a very large pit that has been made ready for it, covered with much firewood. Before they light the fire his mother or his nearest relative takes a vessel of water on the head and a firebrand in the hand, and goes three times round the pit, and at each round makes a hole in the pot; and when these three rounds are done breaks the pot, which is small, and throws the torch into the pit. Then they apply the fire, and when the body is burned comes the wife with all the feasters and washes her feet, and then a Brahman performs over her certain ceremonies according to their law; and when he has finished doing this, she draws off with her own hand all the jewels that she wears, and divides them among her female relatives, and if she has sons she commends them to her most honoured relatives. When they have taken off all she has on, even her good clothes, they put on her some common yellow cloths, and her relatives take her hand and she takes a branch in the other, and goes singing and running to the pit where the fire is, and then mounts on some steps which are made high up by the pit. Before they do this they go three times round the fire, and then she mounts the steps and holds in front of her a mat that prevents here from seeing the fire. They throw into the fire a cloth containing rice, and another in which they carry betel leaves, and her comb and mirror with which she adorned herself, saying that all these are needed to adorn herself by her husband's side. Finally she takes leave of all, and puts a pot of oil on her head, and casts herself into the fire with such courage that it is a thing of wonder; and as soon as she throws herself in, the relatives are ready

with firewood and quickly cover her with it, and after this is done they all raise loud lamentations. When a captain dies, however many wives he has they all burn themselves, and when the King dies they do the same. This is the custom throughout all the country of the heathen, except with that caste of people called Telugas[1], amongst whom the wives are buried alive with their husbands when they die. These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them in little by little till they are covered up; and so the wife dies with the husband.

1. They are mostly Vīrasaivas. See note above.

CHAPTER XXIII

Of the ceremonies practised at the death of Brahmans.

When a Brahmin is sick, before he dies, they send to call the learned Brahmans who are his priests, so that they should come to pray, and console the sick man; and they talk to him of the affairs of his soul, and what he must do to save it, bidding him spend money in alms. After this ceremony is over they make the Brahman priests shave the sick man's head, and after the shaving they bid them wash it, and after the washing it is their custom to bring into their houses a cow with a calf,—there are very few Brahmans, however poor they be, who do not have one to live in their house,—which cow, when they have finished washing the man's head, they take a turban and tie it to its neck and put the end of the turban into the hand of the sick man, and he gives it and the calf in alms for his soul to those priests who perform these ceremonies. On that day he gives alms according to his position, and gives to eat to some Brahmans who are invited and who come there for the purpose. They believe that when these ceremonies are made for the sick man, if he is to live he is soon cured of his infirmity, and if not that he soon dies.

After the death of the sick man they have the ground washed upon which he lay, and after the washing they take cow-dung and spread it over the ground, and place the body on the top of this dung. They hold that a sick man who dies on a cot, or on anything soever except only on the ground, commits a mortal sin. As soon as the body is laid

on the ground they make for it a bier covered with boughs of the fig tree, and before they place the body on the bier they wash it well with pure water, and anoint it with sandal-wood[1] (oil); and they place by the body branches of sweet basil and cover it with a new cloth, and so place it in the bier. Then one of his relatives takes the bier on one side, and they call three other Brahmans whosoever they may be to aid them to lift it; and so they carry it to the place where they are to burn it, accompanied by many Brahmans who go singing in front of the corpse. In front of all goes his son, if he has one, or next younger brother or nearest relative, with fire in the hand for the burning. As soon as they arrive at the place where they have to burn the body, they scatter money according to their ability, and then put the fire to it; and they wait there till the whole body is consumed, and then all go and wash their bodies in a tank and afterwards return each one to his house. The son or brother or relation who put the figure is obliged to sleep on the ground where the man died for nine nights, and after the lapse of nine days from the death come the priests and learned men and they command to shave the head of this man. During these nine days, they feed the poor and they give them the dead man's clothes, and they give the cot with its bed in alm to the priests, with some money in addition; if he is a rich man they give gardens and other things in alms to many Brahmans. When ten days are finished, and the son has been shaved, he goes to the place where they burned his father or his brother, and they perform many ceremonies over the ashes and bones that remain unburned; then they put them in a small vessel and make a pit in the ground and bury them in it, and keep them thus guarded and buried in order (afterwards) to

1. Sandal wood paste (gandha) or oil?

send the bones to be thrown into a sacred river[1], which is distant from Goa over one thousand leagues. There is a very large temple there, the object of many pilgrimages, and they hold that every pilgrim who dies there is saved, and goes to Paradise, and also every dead man whose bones are thrown into that river. In spite of this they in reality take very few people there. The heir or the father or son of the dead man is obliged, from the day of the date, for eleven days to give food to twenty-seven Brahmans, and until twenty-one days to three others; until twelve days again he feeds seven Brahmans, and until twenty-seven days give to eat to the three; on the last day of the month he gives food to three others, and thenceforward, until one year is finished, he gives meals once a month to three brahmans. They do this in honour of the Trinity for the soul of the deceased. When this year is over he gives no more alms, except that each year, on the day on which the death happened[2], he feeds six Brahmans—namely, three in honour of the Trinity and three for the persons of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; who thus seemingly eat together. Thus he obtains favour with God, and for these expenses they beg alms of the Brahmans if they are poor. These give him all help for it. Before they dine they wash the feet of all six, and during the meal some ceremonies are performed by Brahman priests who come there for that purpose.

1. River Gaṅgā or Ganges in Banares. The temple there is the shrine of Kāśiviśvanātha. It is considered to be the holiest pilgrim centre in India since time immemorial.
2. This is known as "śrāddha" ceremony and practiced even to-day in almost all the families irrespective of cast and creed.

Appendix A

THE TRAVELS OF NICOLO CONTI[1]

Proceeding onwards he sailed for the space of twenty days, and arrived at two cities situated on the sea shore, one named Pacamuria, and the other Helly. In these districts grows ginger, called in the language of the country *beledi, gebeli* and *neli*. It is the root of a shrub, which grows to the height of two cubits, with great leaves, similar to those of the blue lilies called Iris, with a hard bark. They grow like the roots of reeds, which cover the fruit. From these the ginger is obtained, on which they cast ashes and place it in the sun for three days, in which time it is dried.

Departing hence, and travelling about three hundred miles inland, he arrived at the great city of Bizenegalia, (Vijayanagar), situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is sixty miles: its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby encreased (increased). In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms. The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom

1. *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 6 and 28-29. His original name is Nicolo del Conti but more known as Nicolo Conti.

two thousand or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them.

In Bizenegalia also, at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death,—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god. Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by ways or ornament, and thus suspended and half dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all.

Thrice in the year they keep festivals of especial solemnity. On one of these occasions the males and females of all ages, having bathed in the rivers or the sea, clad themselves in new garments, and spend three entire days in singing, dancing, and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside on the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni, which are kept burning day and night[1].

On the third, which lasts nine days[2], they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to

1. On the occasion of Dīpāvali festival a number of oil lamps are lighted but only at night and not during daytime as Nicolo Conti says.
2. This is Mahānavami or Dasarā festival. See the vivid descriptions of Paes and Nuniz.

the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons, and other odoriferous fruits, all which they bear most patiently. There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water,[1] placed for that purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter.

Their weddings are celebrated with singing, feasting and the sound of trumpets and flutes, for, with the exception of organs, all the other instruments in use among them for singing and playing are similar to our own. They make sumptuous feasts both day and night, at which there is both singing and instrumental music. Some sing, dancing in a circle, after our manner; while others sing forming a line in single file, one after the other, and exchanging little painted rods, of which each person carries two, with those whom they meet on turning[2]; the effect of which he describes as being extremely pretty. Warm baths are not used amongst them, excepting by Indians of the superior classes to the north of the Ganges. The others wash themselves many times in the day with cold water. Oil is not produced here: our fruits also, such as peaches, pears, cherries, and apples, are not found amongst them. The vine is rare, and, as we have said before, only found in one place. In the province of Pudifetania there grows a tree

1. This description suits to "holi" festival, a kind of "carnival" when colours are thrown on men and women. This is to welcome spring.
2. This is "kolāṭa", a very old folk dance of the south.

about three cubits in height, which bears no fruit, and which is called by a name signifying "modesty"[1]. If a man approach it, it contracts and draws up all its branches, and expands again when he departs.

1. This must be touch-me-not plant. But our visitor says that it is a tree.

ABDUR RAZZAK

[1]*My arrival in Hindustan, and an account of the Condition, Customs, and Marvels of that Country*

Visit to Bisjanagar

This humble individual having taken his leave, departed

1. I have three translations of this text Matla-Assaadein or Ma'djma-Albahrein with me. Two of them in English and one in French. There are two copies of manuscripts of Abd-er-Razzak's account in Paris, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the other in the Bibliothèque Arsenal. In the latter half of the last century there was a great savant in Paris named Quatremeře who was well versed in Arabic and Persian languages. He has given a beautiful translation of Abd-er Razak;s *récit* in a very elegant French of the last century. This has been translated into English and appeared in R. Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century". Dowson and Elliot have given another version of same Abdu-r-Razzak's account in their monumental ouvrage "History of India as told by its own historians" vol. IV. (p 98 to 126). Probably, these two authors have made use of those manuscripts which are in England. As I noticed many variations and differences in these versions when I went through them for a comparative study I feel that it is time for an Indian scholar specialised in Persian to go through these different versions, verify with the originals and make a new translation as Prof. Rouch has done with regard to the "Reis de Bisnaga" of Paes and Nuniz. For the time being, here I have given the text from Dowson & Elliot and variants in notes. Notice the different orthographs to spell the name of the author Razzak by different editors.
Razzak was in India in the fifteenth century and went to Vijayanagar, the capital of Karnāṭaka empire when probably, Dēvarāya II was on the throne. It is not quite clear whom he saw on the throne? He says that the prince was too young. At the same time he relates the

from Kalikot, and passing by the seaport of Bandana, which is on the Malibar coast, arrived at the port of Mangalur, which is on the borders of the kingdom of Bijanagar. Having remained there two or three days, he departed by dry land, and at the distance of three parasangs from Mangalur (Mangalore), he saw a temple which has not its like upon the earth. It is a perfect square of about ten yards (*ghez*) by ten, and five in height. The whole is made of molten brass. There are four platforms or ascents, and on the highest of them there is an idol, of the figure and stature of a man, made all of gold. Its eyes are composed of two red rubies, which are so admirably set that you would say that they gazed upon you. The whole is made with the greatest delicacy and the perfection of art.

Passing on from that place, I arrived each day at a town or village well populated, until a mountain rose before me, the base of which cast a shadow on the sun, and whose sword (peak) sheathed itself in the neck of Mars; its waist was encircled with the bright stars of Orion, as with a ring, and its head was crowned with a blazing chaplet. Its foot was covered with such numbers of trees and thorny bushes that the rays of the world-enlightening sun were never able to penetrate its obscurity, and the genial clouds could never moisten its soil with their rain. On leaving this mountain and forest, I arrived at the city of Bidrur,[1] of

event of an attempt on king's life while he was in Calicut. Although, it is not possible to determine the date of his visit to the city of Vijayanagar, nevertheless, it is worthwhile to go through the description of the capital in the fifteenth century for a comparative study with other accounts. I have confined myself here with his *récit* relevant with the subject we are concerned i.e. Karnāṭaka empire and its capital Vijayanagara.

1. Quatremère writes the name as: "Bilor"; Major: Belour and Dowson & Elliot: Bidrur. Whose orthograph is exact if one wants to identify this place? Is it Bednūr future capital of Keḷadi kings of Karnāṭaka?

which the houses were like palaces and its beauties like Houris.[1] In Bidrur there is a temple so high that you can see it at a distance of several parasangs. It is impossible to describe it without fear of being charged with exaggeration. In brief, in the middle of the city, there is an open space extending for about ten jaribs,[2] charming as the garden of Iran.[3] In it there are flowers of every kind, like leaves. In the middle of the garden there is a terrace (kursi), composed of stones, raised to the height of a man; so exquisitely cut are they, and joined together with so much nicety, that you would say it was one slab of stone, or a piece of the blue firmament which had fallen upon the earth. In the middle of this terrace there is a lofty building comprising a cupola of blue stone, on which are cut figures, arranged in three rows, tier above tier.[4]

Such reliefs and pictures could not have been represented upon it by the sharp and deceptive pencil.

From the top to the bottom there was not a space of the palm of a hand on that lofty building which was not

1. Beautiful young woman of Muslim paradise.
2. Ghez in Major's and Quatremère's.
3. Major and Quatremère compare it with *Irem*. In the foot-note Major writes: Irem is the name given by orientals to the earthly Paradise, which Chedad ben Ad, a fabulour monarch of Arabia, made an attempt at constructing in imitation of the celestial Paradise, of which he had heard. He brought together there all sorts of delights, but on the day of its completion he and his subjects were destroyed by a powerful tempest, and the paradise became invisible. P. 21n.
4. Here Razzak gives a description in poetical form: What can I say of this cupola, which, as regards the delicacy of the work, offered to the world an idea of paradise? Its vault, rounded and lofty, resembled a new moon; its elevation vied with that of the heavens. Major, ibid, p. 21. This shows that Razzak was a well read person with talents to write in poetical style.

adorned with paintings of Europe and Khata (China). The building was constructed on four terraces of the length of thirty yards, and of the breadth of twenty yards, and its height was about fifty yards[1].

All the other edifices, small and great, are carved and painted with exceeding delicacy. In that temple, night and day, after prayers unaccepted by God, they sing and play musical instruments, enjoy concerts, and give feasts. All the people of the village enjoy pensions and allowances from that building; for offerings are presented to it from distant cities. In the opinion of those irreligious men, it is the ka'ba of the infidels (gabran). After remaining here two or three days, I continued my journey, and at the close of the month Zi-hijja arrived at the city of Bijanagar. The king sent out a party to escort us, and we were brought to a pleasant and suitable abode.

Account of the city of Bijanagar and its Seven Surrounding Fortifications.

From our former relation, and well-adjusted narrative, well informed readers will have ascertained that the writer Abdu-r-razzak had arrived at the city of Bijanagar. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 parasangs. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven lacs of men (1,100,000). In the whole of Hindustan there is no

1. Wherever Razzak has given a measurement, Dowson and Elliot have translated it in yards. According to Oxford English Dictionary a ghez is equal to one meter.

Rai more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. The book of Kalila and Dimna, than which there is no other more excellent in the Persian language, and which relates to a Rai and a Brahman, is probably the composition of the wise men of this country.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall[1] there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half is buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Herat, let him understand that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of the "Two Brothers"[2] to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.

The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are

1. Major and Quatremère: "Around the first citadel are stones of the height of a man, one half...." and continue: "These are fixed one beside the other, in such a manner that no horse or foot..." They don't mention after "there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards".
2. *"Diereh dou Buraderim"* the Valley of the Two Brothers, as far as the banks of the river and the bridge of Malan, situated east of the town of Ghinan, and west of the village of Saiban" in Major, p. 23; Quatremère, p. 446.

very diligent in the collection of taxes (jizyat)[1]. The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the New River to the bridge of the pass of Kara, to the east of the bridge of Rangina[2] and Jakan, and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and the village of Hasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the Imam-Fakhr-u-din-Razi, to the vaulted tomb of Muhammad Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge of the river Jakan[3]. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Herat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two

1. Here we have an interesting information. In Quatremere and Major we read: "It is a fortress of a round shape, built on the summit of a mountain, and constructed of stones and lime. It has very solid gates, the guards of which are constantly at their post, and examine everything with a severe inspection"; p. 446 & p. 23 respectively. Dowson and Elliot have interpreted this passage as referring to "taxes" and thinking that probably it was "jizyat" they have given it in brackets. Sewell takes their interpretation for granted and further writes "This system of collecting octroi dues at the gates of principal towns lasted till recent days, having only been abolished by the British Government", Sewell, p. 87. Jizyat was a tax levied by muslim kings. There was no jizyat in the Hindu kingdom. Moreover, British abolished this tax to levy others which were heavier emptying the treasuries of Hindu as well as Muslim principalities.
2. Rangineh and jakan, in Quatremere and Major; p. 446; p. 23, resply.
3. Zagan...Andjegan in Quatremère and Major p.446; p.24, resply.

statute parasangs, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seven fortress, shops, and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai[1]. At the head of each bazar, there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king[2] is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides[3]. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazar. (Eulogy of the gems).

In this charming area, in which the palace of the king

1. "On the north is the portico of the palace of the "*rai*". Quatremère, p. 447; Major, p. 24. From these two readings we understand that the king's palace entrance was towards north. In the ruins, to the north, there is the entrance of the so-called Mahānavamidibba.
2. Here Quatremère and Major translate: "Above each bazar is a lofty arcade with a magnificent gallery, but the audience hall of the king's palace is elevated above all the rest" p. 447; p. 24 resply. In my opinion, what Razzak writes about corresponds with what is now known as "Mahānavamidibba" or victory house. Architecturally, this building is more ancient than what is now called as "audience hall".
3. The bazars are extremely long and broad. The rose merchants place before their shops high *estrades*, on each side of which they expose their flowers for sale''; Quatremère, p. 447; Major, p. 24.

is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even[1]. On the right hand of the palace[2] of the Sultan there is diwan-khana, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal-sutun*, or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad[3], where the records are kept and the scribes are seated. These people have two kinds of writing, one upon a leaf of the Hindu nut[4] (cocoa-nut), which is two yards long, and two digits broad, on which they scratch with an iron stylo. These characters present no colour, and endure but for a little while. In the second kind they blacken a white surface, on which they write with a soft stone cut into the shape of a pen, so that the characters are white on a black surface, and are durable. This kind of writing is highly esteemed.

In the middle of the pillared hall, a eunuch called a

1. These must be canals and what Longhurst has designated as "acquiducts" in the palace area. Recently, state and central Archaeological Surveys have excavated this zone and discovered many more channels of all kinds.
2. "On the left of the Sultan's portico rises the divan-khaneh (the council-house) which is extremely large and looks like a palace"; Quatremère's and Major's versions; p. 447; p. 25; resply. There is no comparison with forty pillared hall in these texts.
3. "Its length thirty ghez, and its breadth ten", Quatremère, p. 447; Major, p.25.
4. Hindu nut tree must be cocoa-nut tree Quatremère, p. 447-448; Major, p. 25: "they write their letters with a kalam of iron..."*ibid.* Here Razzak is speaking about the palm leaf manuscripts which are available in plenty in India and from long dates. I do not know how Razzak could say that they endure for a little while. The second type of writing he mentions is called "kaḍita", the number of which is not negligible. All these archival records are lost to historians forever. What a loss!

Danaik,[1] sits alone upon a raised platform, and presides over the administration; and below it the mace-bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace-bearers, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground[2], and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievance. Upon this, the Danaik issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance. When the Danaik leaves the chamber, several coloured umbrellas are borne before him, and trumpets are sounded, and on both sides of his way panegyrists pronounce benedictions upon him. Before he reaches the king he has to pass through seven gates, at which porters are seated, and as the Danaik arrives at each door an umbrella is left behind, so that on reaching the seventh gate the Danaik enters alone. He reports upon the affairs of the State to the king, and, after remaining some time, returns. His residence lies behind the palace of the king[3].

On the left of the palace there is the mint[4], where they stamp three different kinds of gold coins, mixed with alloy. One is called *varaha*, and weighs about one miskal, equal to two kopaki dinars. The second kind is called *partab*, and is equal to half of the first. The third is called *fanam*, and is equal to the tenth of a partab. The last is the most current. Of pure silver they make a coin equal to a sixth of a fanam, which they call *tar*, which is also in great use. The third of a

1. In the other two texts he is called "Daiang".
2. I.e. prostrates before him; that is known as sāṣṭāṅganamaskāra.
3. "Behind the king's palace are the house and hall allotted to the Daiang" Quatremère, p.448, Major, p. 26.
4. "Darab-khâneh" the mint, Quatremère, p. 448, Major, p. 26. The coins which he is referring to are: varāhagadyāṇa, Partab is "Pratāpagadyāṇa" and phaṇam or *fanam* is Phaṇam or paṇam.

tar is a copper coin, called *jital*.[1] The usage of the country is that, at a stated period, every one throughout the whole empire carries to the mint the revenue (tax) which is due from him, and whoever has money due to him from the Exchequer receives an order upon the mint. The sipahis receive their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provisions.

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a responsible space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers, with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt[2] ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers.

The Elephants, and Mode of Catching them

Opposite the minister's office are the elephant sheds[3]. The

1. The last two are "tāre" and bēḷe which were very common coins in those days. According to the data in the inscriptions "bēḷe" is half of "tāre".
2. All the inhabitants of this country, both those in exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artizans of the bazaar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand and on the fingers, p. 449 in Quatremère's, and p. 26 in Major's.
3. "Opposite the Divan-khâneh (the palace of the council) is the Fil-Khaneh "the house of the elephants"; Quatremere, p. 449, and Major p. 26. In the ruins behind the so-called Lotus mahal is a monument generally known as "Elephant stables". Many historians were not ready to accept it because that is too near to the palace. But, the recent discovery of an inscription confirms that it was elephant stable. See, Vijayanagara progress Report 1983-84. In my earlier publications I have proved that it is elephants' stable by giving literary evidences like "Yaśōdhara caritre" by poet Janna etc. See *Aḷiduḷida Hampe*, Bangalore, 1982, p. 43. (First edition).

king has many elephants in the country, but the large ones are specially reserved for the palace. Between the first and second enceinte of the city, and between the northern and western faces, the breeding of elephants takes place, and it is there the young ones are produced. The king has a white elephant, exceedingly large, with here and there as many as thirty spots of colour.

Every morning this animal is brought into the presence of the monarch; for to cast eye upon him is thought a favourable omen. The palace elephants are fed on kichri, which, after being cooked, is turned out from the caldron before the elephant, and after being sprinkled with salt and moist sugar, is made into a mass, and then balls of about two mans each are dipped in butter, and are then placed by the keepers in the mouths of the animals. If any of these ingredients is forgotten, the elephant is ready to kill his keeper, and the king also severely punishes his negligence. They are fed twice a day in this way. Each has a separate stall; the walls are very strong and high, and are covered with strong wood. The chains on the necks and backs of the elephants are firmly attached to the beams above; if the chains were bound any other way, the elephants would easily detach themselves. Chains are also bound upon the fore-legs.

The manner in which they catch elephants is this: they dig a pit in the way by which the animal usually goes to drink, which they cover over lightly. When an elephant falls into it, no man is allowed to go near the animal for two or three days; at the end of that period, a man comes up and strikes him several hard blows with a bludgeon, when suddenly another man appears who drives off the striker, and seizing the bludgeon, throws it away. He then retires, after placing some forage before the elephant. This practice is repeated for several days; the first lays on the blows,

and the second drives him away, until the animal begins to have a liking for his protector, who by degrees approaches the animal, and place before it the fruits which elephants are partial to, and scratches and rubs the animal, until by this kind of treatment he becomes tame, and submits his neck to the chain.

They tell the following story of an elephant that fled from his bondage, and absconded to the deserts and the jungles. His keeper, in pursuit of him, dug pits in the paths which he was likely to frequent. The elephant, apprehensive of his artifices, seizing a club, and holding it like a staff in his trunk, kept feeling and sounding the earth with great caution as he advanced; and so arrived at the drinking ford. The elephant-drivers despaired of taking him; but as the king was very anxious to have him caught, one of the keepers mounted a tree under which the elephant was likely to go, and there lay, till, at the moment of his passing underneath, he threw himself down on the back of the animal, and seizing the strong cord which they strap over the back and chest of those animals, and which had not yet been detached, he held it fast within his grasp. In spite of all the turnings and motions which the elephant made to escape, and in spite of his lashing with his trunk, it was all of no avail. When he began rolling upon his side, the keeper leapt upon the flank which remained uppermost, and meanwhile struck the animal several sharp blows upon the head, so that, being at last exhausted, the beast gave in, and submitted his body to the bonds, and his neck to the fetters. The keeper brought the elephant into the presence of the king, who bestowed a handsome reward upon him.

The kings of Hindustan go out hunting elephants, and remain a month or more in the jungles, and when they capture elephants, they rejoice at their success.

Sometimes they order criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunk, and tusks. Merchants carry elephants from Ceylan to different countries, and sell them according to their height, so much more being demanded for each additional yard.

The Brothels

Opposite the mint is the office of the Prefect of the City[1], to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 fanams, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels. The splendour of those houses, the beauty of the heart-ravishers, their blandishments and ogles, are beyond all description. It is proper to be brief on the matter.

One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar, which is more than 300 yards long and 20 broad. On two sides of it there are houses (khanaha) and fore-courts (safhaha), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (kursi), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Every one is covered with pearls, precious stones, and costly garments. They are all exceedingly young and beautiful. Each has one or two slave girls standing before her, who invite and allure to indulgence and pleasure. Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The

1. Opposite the *darab-khaneh* (the mint) is the house of the Governor, where are stationed twelve thousand soldiers as guard, Quatremère p. 452; Major p...29.

servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which, as stated before, amount to 123000 fanams[1], go to pay the wages of the policemen. The business of these men is to acquaint themselves with all the events and accidents that happen within the seven walls, and to recover everything that is lost, or that may be abstracted by theft; otherwise they are fined. Thus, certain slaves which my companions had bought took to flight, and when the circumstance was reported to the Prefect, he ordered the watchmen of that quarter where the poorest people dwelt to produce them or pay the penalty; which last they did, on ascertaining the amount. Such are the details relating to the city of Bijanagar and the condition of its sovereign.

The author of this history, who arrived at Bijanagar at the close of Zi-hijja, took up his abode in a lofty mansion which had been assigned to him, resembling that which one sees in Hirat (Herat) on the high ground at the King's Gate. Here he reposed himself after the fatigues of the journey for several days, and passed under happy auspices the first day of the new moon of Muharram in that splendid city and beautiful abode.

Interview with the King of Bijanagar

One day messengers came from the king to summon me, and towards the evening I went to the Court, and presented

1. "Twelve thousand *fanams*" writes Quatremère p. 453; also in Major p. 30.
2. "...and some *tokouz* of damask and satin". *Ibid.* p. 454, & 30 resply. Further it is continued "The prince was seated in a hall, surrounded by the most imposing attributes of the state". There is no mention of forty pillared hall as Dowson and Elliot have translated.

five beautiful horses and two trays[2], each containing nine pieces of damask and satin. The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Brahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of zaitun satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate[1]. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body, and rather tall. He was exceedingly young, for there was only some slight down upon his cheeks, and none upon his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing. On being presented to him, I bowed down my head. He received me kindly, and seated me near him, and, taking the august letter of the emperor, made it over (to the interpreters); and said "My heart is exceedingly glad that the great king has sent an ambassador to me". As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of Khatai which he held in his hand. They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams* and about 20 *miskals* of camphor[2], and, obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my belonging. The daily provision forwarded to me

1. "The prince was seated in a hall, surrounded by the most imposing attributes of state. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men ranged in circle. The king was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar, composed of pearls of beautiful water and other splendid gems". *Ibid.* p. 454, & 30. In French "perle d'une belle eau" or "pearl of beautiful water" means the pearl which has a beautiful transparency and brilliance like a diamond. Paes and Nuniz, while describing the regal attires, mention the collar worn by the kings.
2. Both Quatremère and Major spell it as "mithkal"; p. 454, p. 31 resply. I do not know why camphor was presented to the ambassador.

comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five manns of rice, one mann of butter, one mann of sugar, and two varahas in gold. This occurred every day. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening, when the king asked me several questions about the Khakan-i-Said, and each time I receive a packet of betel, a purse of fanams, and some miskals of camphor.

The monarch addressed us through his interpreter, and said, "Your kings feast ambassadors and place dishes before them, but as I and you cannot eat together, this purse of gold represents the repas of an ambassador."

The Properties of the betel-leaf.

This betel is a leaf which resembles that of an orange, but is longer. It is held in great esteem in Hindustan, in the many parts of Arabia, and the kingdom of Hormuz; and indeed it deserves its reputation. It is eaten in this way: they bruise a piece of areca nut, which they also call *supari*, and place it in the mouth; and moistening a leaf of betel or *pan* together with a grain of quick-lime, they rub one on the other; roll them up together, and place them in the mouth. Thus they place as many as four leaves together in their mouth, and chew them. Sometimes they mix camphor with it, and from time to time discharge their spittle, which becomes red from the use of betel.

This masticatory lightens up the countenance and excites an intoxication like that caused by wine. It relieves hunger, stimulates the organs of digestion, disinfects the breath, and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to describe, and delicacy forbids me to expatiate on its invigorating and aphrodisiac virtues. The following verses[1] display and confirm only some of its valuable properties.

It is probably owing to the stimulating properties of

1. In lieu of verses, in the other two texts the word "report" is used.

this leaf, and to the aid of this plant, that the king of that country is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio; for it is said that it contains as many as 700 princesses and concubines. With respect to all these establishments no male child is permitted to remain in them after attaining the age of ten years. Two women do not dwell together in the same apartment, each one having her concerns separate. When any beautiful girl is found throughout the whole kingdom, after the consent of her father and mother has been purchased, she is brought in great state to the harem, after which no one can see her; but she is treated with great consideration.

An attempt upon the life of the King of Bijanagar

At the time that the writer of this history was detained at the city of Kalikot an extraordinary circumstance and singular transaction occurred in the city of Bijanagar. The details are these. The brother of the king had constructed a new house, and invited the king and the nobles of state to an entertainment. The custom of the infidels is, not to eat in the presence of one another[1].

1. This is not true. Whenever a new house is inaugurated a feast is given to many guests and relatives. All of them take meals in the same hall whereas distinguished persons or special guests are served in a separate hall but never alone in a closet at Razzak relates. Nuniz also repeats the same story. According to the inscription in Hampi itself an attempt was made on the life of king Dēverāya I. His devoted minister Lakṣmaṇamantri or Lakkaṇṇa took the miscreants by surprise and thus the conspiracy was aborted. The minister had this event engraved on a stone slab at the time of an installation of Hēramba (Gaṇapati) at the foot of Mālyavanta hill by him in the capital. S I I vol. IV, No. 267. On the basis of facts recorded in the inscription and the account of the attempt on king's life Razzak's date of visit to India can be recalculated. If he were in the capital towards 1443, as Sewell thinks, then it was a fag end of Deverāya II's rule. Probably, Razzak was in Calicut towards the end of Devarāya I's reign and in

The guests were seated in a large hall, and, from time to time, the host, or some one that he sent, invited one of the nobles to come forward and partake of the viands prepared for him. He had taken care to collect together all the drums, tymbals, trumpets, and horns in the city, which were beaten and blown together with great force and dissonance. As each guest was summoned and conducted to the proper apartment, two assassins advanced from the place of their concealment behind the door, and, wounding him with a dagger, cut him to pieces. When his remains were carried off, another one was summoned and treated in like manner, and whoever entered that slaughter-house was never heard of more, for he became like a traveller on the road of eternity; and the tongue of fortune addressed the murdered man in these words.

"You will never return; having gone, you have gone for ever". From the noise of the drums and the clangour and the tumult, not a soul knew what had occurred, except a few who were in the secret; and in this manner every one who had a name and position in the state was murdered. While the assembly was yet reeking with the blood of its victims, the murderer went to the palace of the king, and, addressing the guards with flattering language, invited them also to the entertainment, and sent them to follow the others; and thus, having denuded the palace of the guards, he advanced to the king, bearing in his hand a tray of betel, in which there was a brilliant dagger concealed beneath the leaves, and thus addressed the monarch: "The

the capital when King Devarāya I's son prince Vijayarāya was administering the kingdom. That may be the reason why he found the prince too young having not much down on his cheeks and chin. It is possible that first Razzak was received by the prince and in the evening by his father. This is my hypothesis. Younger scholars may work on this topic.

entertainment is prepared, and only waits your august presence". The monarch, according to the saying, powerful princess are divinely inspired, said that he was indisposed, and begged that his attendance might be excused.

When this unnatural brother despaired of the king's attendance, he drew forth the poignard, and wounded him several times severely, so that the monarch fell down behind the throne; and the perfidious wretch, believing that he was dead, left one of his myrmidons behind to cut off the king's head. He himself rushed out to the portico of the palace, and exclaimed: "I have killed the king, his brothers, the nobles, the ministers, and the other chiefs, and I am now your king". But when the bravo advanced to fulfil his murderous orders, the king, seizing the seat behind which he had fallen, dealt with it such a blow upon the breast of the villain, that he felled him to the ground, and, assisted by one of his guards, who in alarm had concealed himself in a corner, put him to death, and ran out of the chamber by the way of the female apartments. While his brother, seated at the head of the tribunal of justice, was inviting the people to recognize him as their sovereign, the king himself came forward and exclaimed, "Behold, I am alive and safe, seize the assassin". The multitude immediately bore him down, and slew him. The king then summoned to his presence his other brothers, and all the nobles; but every one had been slain except the minister, the Danaik, who, previous to this dreadful tragedy, had gone to Silan (Ceylon). A courier was despatched to summon him, and inform him of what had transpired. All those who had been concerned in that plot, were either flayed alive, or burnt to death, or destroyed in some other fashion, and their families were altogether exterminated. The person who had brought the invitation was also put to death. When the Danaik had returned from his tour, and

had become acquainted with all that had transpired, he was astounded, and after being admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet, he offered up his thanks for the safety of the king's person, and made more than usual preparations to celebrate the festival of Mahanawi.

The celebration of the Mahanawi[1]

The infidels of this country, who are endowed with power, are fond of displaying their pride, pomp, power, and glory, in holding every year a stately and magnificent festival, which they call Mahanawi. The manner of it is this: The King of Bijanagar directed that his nobles and chiefs should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends for the distance of three or four month's journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants, tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour, and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naptha were seated; and on the foreheads, trunks, and ears of the elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments.

Verses

The chiefs of the army and the powerful men of each province, and the wise Brahmans and the demon-like elephants, were assembled at the Court of the ruler of the world at the appointed time, which was at the full moon of Rajab (September 1446)[2], on a broad plain. This wonderful

1 Quatremère had deciphered this word as "Mahânâdi" (p. 458) and Major had transliterated it loyally. Actually, this is the festival of "Mahānavami", of which both Paes and Nuniz (Chapter XXII) have given a vivid description.

2 On the basis of Quatremère's French translation (p.459) Major gives in English as follows: When the chiefs of the army, with the

expanse of ground, from the numbers of people and the huge elephants, resembled the waves of the green sea, and the myriads which will appear on the Plains of the Ressurection.

On that beautiful plain were raised enchanting pavilions of from two to five stages high, on which from top to bottom were painted all kinds of figures that the imagination can conceive, of men, wild animals, birds, and all kinds of beasts, down to flies and gnats. All these were painted with exceeding delicacy and taste. Some of these pavilions were so constructed, that they revolved, and every moment offered a different face to the view. Every instant each stage and each chamber presented a new and charming sight.

In the front of that plain, a pillared edifice was constructed of nine stories in height, ornamented with exceeding beauty. The throne of the king was placed on the ninth story. The place assigned to me was the seventh story, from which every one was excluded except my own friends. Between this palace and the pavilions there was an open space beautifully laid out, in which singers were for the most part young girls, with cheeks like the moon, and faces more blooming than the spring, adorned with beautiful garments, and displaying figures which ravished the

eminent personages and learned Brahmins in each province, as well as the elephants, were collected at the appointed time in the palace, during three consecutive days, in the month of *Redjeb*, the vast space of land magnificently decorated, in which the enormous elephants were congregated together, presented the appearance of the waves of the sea, or of the compact mass of men which will be assembled together at the day of the resurrection (p.36). There is no question of new-moon or full-moon in these versions. Taking into account Dowson & Elliot's translation Sewell had tried to calculate the dates for which he gives a lengthy foot-note on p.91. Neither Mahānavami nor Dīpāvali fall on full moon day.

heart like fresh roses. They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move their feet with such grace, that wisdom lost its senses, and the soul was intoxicated with delight.

Verses

The Showmen and Jugglers

The jugglers performed astonishing feats; they set up three beams joined one to the other; each way was a yard long and half a yard broad, and about three or four high. Two other beams were placed on the top of the first two beams, which are of about the same length and breadth. They placed another beam a little smaller on the top of the second beams, which were already supported by the lower beams, so that the first and second series formed two stages supporting the third beam, which was placed on the top of them all. A large elephant had been so trained by them, that it mounted the first and second stages, and finally to the top of the third, the width of which was less than the sole of the elephant's foot. When the elephant had secured all four feet on this beam, they removed the remaining beams from the rear. Mounted thus on the top of the third beam, the elephant beat time with his trunk to every song or tune that the minstrels performed, raising his trunk and lowering it gently in accord with the music.

[1]They raised a pillar ten yards high, through a hole at

1 "After this they erect a column of ten ghez in height, on the top of which they fix a long piece of wood, like the beam of a pair of scales, and which has a hole in the middle. At one end of this beam they attach a stone....His keeper then lets go the cord by little and little, until the two extremities of the piece of wood are exactly balanced, like the beams of a pair of scales, and at a height of ten

the top of the pillar they passed a beam of wood, like the beam of a balance; to one end of this they attached a stone about the weight of an elephant, and to the other they attached a broad plank about one yard in length, which they fastened with strong cords. The elephant mounted this plank, and his keeper by degrees let go the cord, so that the two ends of the beam stood evenly balanced at the height of ten yards; at one end of the elephant, and at the other his weight in stone, equal as two halves of a circle. In this way it went (up and down) before the king. The elephant in that high position, where no one could reach him, listened to the strains of the musicians, and marked the tune with motions of his trunk.

All the readers and story-tellers, musicians and jugglers, were rewarded by the king with gold and garments. For three continuous days, from the time that the world-enlightening sun began to glow like a peacock in the heavens, until that when the crow of evening's obscurity displayed its wings and feathers, this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display. One cannot, without entering into great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs, and various other amusements which were exhibited.

Audience of the King of Bijanagar

On the third day, when the king was about to leave the scene of the festival, I was carried before the throne of His Majesty. It was of a prodigious size, made of gold inlaid

ghez. This piece of wood, one end of which bears the elephant and the other a stone of corresponding weight, turns after the fashion of semi-circle, making a half rotation from right to left, in presence of the king; and in this elevated position the elephant follows all the airs of the musicians, and makes the movements in cadence", in Quatremère and Major; p. 460-461; p. 37-38 resply.

with beautiful jewels, and ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art; seeing that this kind of manufacture is nowhere excelled in the other kingdoms of the earth. Before the throne there was placed a cushion of zaituni satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn[1]. During the three days the king sat on the throne upon this cushion, and when the celebration of the Mahanawi was over, he sent for this humble individual one evening at the time of prayer. On arriving at the palace, I saw four stages laid out about ten yards square. The whole roof and walls of the apartment were covered with plates of gold inlaid with jewels. Each of these plates was about the thickness of the back of a sword, and was firmly fixed with nails of gold. On the first stage, the king's royal seat was placed. This was formed of gold, and was of great size. The king sat upon it in state. He asked me after His Majesty the Khakan-i-Sa'id, his nobles, his armies, the number of his horses, and the peculiarities of the cities, such as Samarkand, Hirat, and Shiraz. He treated me with a kindness which exceeded all bounds, and observed "I am about to send a certain number of elephants and two tukuz[2] of eunuchs, besides other rarities, accompanied by a prudent ambassador, whom I shall despatch to your Sovereign".

In that assembly one of the courtiers asked me, by means of an interpreter, what I thought of the beauty of the

1. "Before the throne was a square cushion, on the edges of which were sewn three rows of pearls of the most beautiful water", Major. p. 38. Quatremère says on p. 462: "un carreau de satin olive", whereas Major had omitted the word "olive". For pearls see note 1 on page 283, n.1.
2. Quatremère gives the meaning of "neuvaines" for *tokouz* (p. 462) and Major has translated it as twice nine, p. 39.

four embroidered sofas[1], implying that such could not be made in our country. I replied, that perhaps they might be made equally well there, but that it is not the custom to manufacture such articles. The king approved highly of my reply, and ordered that I should receive several bags of fanams and betel, and some fruits reserved for his special use.

Malice of the Hormuzians

A set of people from Hormuz, who were residing in the country, when they heard of the kindness of the monarch, and of his intention of sending an ambassador to the Court of the asylum of Sultans, were extremely vexed, and did what they could to destroy this edifice of friendship. From their exceeding turpitude and malevolence they spread abroad the report that this poor individual was not really accredited by His Majesty, the Khakan-i-Sa'id. This assertion reached the ears, not only of the nobles and ministers, but of the king himself, as will be hereafter mentioned. Please God !

Expedition to Kulbarga

About this time the Danaik, or minister, who had treated me with the greatest consideration, departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Kulbarga, of which the cause was, that the king of Kulbarga, Sultan Alau-d-din Ahmad Shah, upon learning the attempted assassination of Deo Rai, and the murder of the principal officers of State, was

1. "During this audience one of the king's favorites put a question to me, through the medium of an interpreter, upon the subject of the magnificent *estrades* enriched with precious stones", Quatremère, p. 462; Major, p. 39. What Elliot and & Dowson have called "sofas" Quatremere has translated it as "*estrades*" and Major has repeated it.

exceedingly rejoiced, and sent an eloquent deputy to deliver this message: "Pay me 700,000 varahas, or I will send a world-subduing army into your country, and will extirpate idolatry from its lowest foundations." Deo Rai, the King of Bijanagar, was troubled and angered at this demand, and said: "Since I am alive, what occasion for alarm is there if some servants have been slain?"

"If a thousand of my servants die, what should be afraid of? In one or two days I can collect a hundred thousand more such as they".

When the sun is resplendent, innumerable atoms are visible". "If my enemies have conceived that weakness, loss, insecurity, and calamity have fallen upon me, they are mistaken. I am shielded by a powerful and auspicious star, and fortune is favourable to me. Now let all that my enemy can seize from out my dominions be considered as booty, and made over to his saiyids (*seids* in Major's) and professors; as for me, all that I can take from this kingdom I will make over to falconers and brahmans." So on both sides armies were sent into the other's country, and committed great devasations.

Hambah Nurir-Despatch of Embassy

The king had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brahman Danaik a person named Hambah Nurir[1], who considered himself equal to the wazir. He was diminutive in stature, malignant, low-born, vile, savage, and reprobate. All the most odious qualities were united in him, and

1. "The king had admitted into his council, to supply the place of Dalang, a Christian, named Nimeh-pezir"; in Quatremère, p. 464; Major, p. 40-41. A certain "Perumāḷe Daṇṇāyaka" is mentioned in the inscriptions of Dēvarāya II, S. I. I. vol. VII, No. 382; ARSIE of 1901, No. 177. It is dated 1444 A.D. This Daṇṇāyaka was governing the kingdom with the king, says the inscription.

he had not a single estimable trait in his composition. When the seat of the administration was polluted by that wretch, he stopped my daily allowance without any cause. The Hormuzians having found an opportunity of showing their malice, displayed the devilry which forms the heaven of their disposition; and conformity of vice having ingratiated them with Hambah Nurir, they declared that I was not accredited by His Majesty the Khakan-i-Sa'id, but that I was a mere merchant, who had carried in my hand the diploma of His Majesty. They spread several other lies in the hearing of the infidels, which produced such an impression upon them, that for some time, in the middle of this unholy country, I was reduced to a state of misery and uncertainty. But while labouring under this anxiety, I met the king several times on the road, who treated me with great condescension, and asked how I was going on. In very truth, he possessed excellent qualities.

The Danaik, after ravaging the territory of Kulbarga, and bringing some wretched people away with him as captives, returned to Bijanagar. He reproached Hambah Nurir for having stopped my daily rations, and gave me an assignment for 7,000 fanams[1] on the mint the very day of his arrival. Khwaja Mas'ud and Khwaja Muhammad of Khurasan, who were also residing in Bijanagar, were appointed to go upon the embassy, carrying with them presents and stuffs. Fath Khan, one of the descendants of Sultan Firoz Shah, who had been King of Delhi, also sent a deputy, named Khwaja Jamalu-d din, with presents and a petition.

On the day of my audience of leave, the monarch said to this poor individual: "They have represented that you are not really the envoy of His Majesty Mirza Shah Rukh;

1. "Seven thousand varahas" Quatremère, P. 465; Major, p. 41.

otherwise we would have paid you greater respect. If you should come again into this country, and I should ascertain that you are really sent on a mission by His Majesty, I will pay you such attention as becomes the dignity of my empire."

Verse

In the letter addressed to His Majesty, the monarch communicated the malicious aspersions which had been spread by the Hormuzians and observed: "It was our intention to commend myself to His Sacred Majesty by royal presents and gifts, but certain parties represented that Abdu-r-Razzak is not His Majesty's servant."[1]

The humble author, having completed his preparations, took his departure for the shore of the sea of 'Uman'.

1. Here Quatremère has given a beautiful translation of the king's letter to the Shah of Persia: "In detailing the titles which are assumed by the august Khakhan he said: This prince unites in his person the qualities of a king, and that which constitutes the glory of a sovereign, with the purity of the prophets, and the virtues of saints". So that the tongue great and small, the writing of every secretary ought to express (with respect to this monarch) the following sentiment.

"Thou art a Noah, who, like Abraham, possesses the love of God; a Khidr, who holds the rank of Moses.

Thou art Ahmed, who encircles the majesty of the throne of God; thou art Jesus, whose aspect expresses the Divine Spirit.

Henceforth the habitable globe shall be regarded as forming part of thine empire; it is therefore that thou holdest the equinoctial line under the line of thy authority."

As, according to the ideas of these people, the country of Bidjanagar is placed under the equinoctial line, the expression to "hold the equinoctial line under the line of his authority", is perfectly correct. The humble author of this work, after having completed his negotiations, set forth on his journey, and directed his homeward course towards the sea of Oman." Quatremère, p. 465-466; Major p. 42-43.

The return from Hindustan, and an account of a storm

The sun of Divine Benevolence arose from the horizon of prosperity, and the star of fortune ascended from the Orient of hope, and the brilliant lights of joy and content showed themselves in the midst of the dark night, conformably to the saying "God is the friend of those who trust in Him. He will bring them forth from darkness into light." The nights of trouble and affliction in that abode of idolatry and error vanished at the rising of the morning of good fortune and the appearance of the sun of prosperity; and the evening of sorrow and helplessness was changed into days of festivity and rejoicing. "The duration of night that was longer than the day is now reversed. "The latter has grown longer, the former has decreased."

Bijanagar is a city in the most remote territory of Hindustan and the whole country is idolatrous; the resources which I had accumulated for my travels were consumed during the misfortunes to which I had been exposed. But why should I speak of that which is not worthy of mention? But in consequence of my wretched condition I had no hope of getting provision for my journey—all I could do was to throw myself on the mercy of God.

With a stout heart and expanded hopes, I set out on my road; I confided myself to the kindness and mercy of God. On the 12th of Sha'ban, accompanied by the ambassadors, I took my flight on the wings of travel for the city of Bijanagar, and after being eighteen days on the road, we arrived, on the 1st of Ramazan (January 1444), at the port of Mangahur, and there I was honoured with being admitted to an interview with Amir Saiyid-Alau-d din Mashhadi, who was 120 years old. For several years he had been venerated by the faithful, as well as the infidels, and in that country his sayings were regarded as oracles, for no one

dared to refuse obedience to his precepts. One of the ambassadors of Bijanagar, Khwaja Mas'ud, unfortunately died while we were in this place.

"On this sinful earth, over which the vault of heaven extends, Who knows in what place his head will rest beneath the tomb?"

After having celebrated in the port of Mangahur the feast which follows the fast of Ramazan, I went to the port of Hanur, to arrange about fitting out a vessel, and I laid in provisions for twenty people for a voyage of forty days. One day, near the time when I was about to embark, I consulted the book of presages compiled by Imam Ja'far Sadik, which comprises verses taken from the Kuran, when I opened it at a passage of fortunate omen, containing this verse "Be not afraid, you have been saved from the tribe of wicked men" I was exceedingly struck with a passage so appropriate to my situation, the anxiety which beset my heart from fear of the sea vanished altogether, and all at once trusting in a happy deliverance, I embarked on the 25th of the month of Zi-l ka' da.

Sometimes we engaged in conversation on the extraordinary names and wonderful appearances which had come under our observation, and our hearts enjoyed peace and contentment. Sometimes, from the effect of contrary winds, which resembled drunkards, the cup of vicissitude found its ways into the vessel, and its planks, which were so joined as to resemble a continuous line, were on the point of becoming separate like isolated letters of the alphabet.

The raging storm was changed into a favourable wind, the foaming tempest ceased, and the sea became as calm as my heart desired. The passengers, after having celebrated on the sea the festival of azha, at the end of zi-hijja, sighted the mountain of Kalahat, and rested in

security from the dangers of the ocean. At that time, the new moon of the Muharram of the year 848 (of April 1444), showed itself in the sea like the image of a friend's eyebrow.

Concluding events of the voyage, and the arrival at Hormuz by God's favour.

The narrative of my voyage has reached that point, when the new moon of the blessed Muharram showed its beautiful image in the sea. The ship remained out at sea for several days more, but on arriving at Maskat we cast anchor; whereafter the damages sustained at sea by the storm were repaired, we reembarked, and continued our route.

The vessel, after leaving Maskat, arrived at the port of Khurfakan, where she remained for two days, during which the night was so hot, that when it was dawn, you might have said that the sky had set the earth on fire; for the strong-winged bird at the summit of the air, and the fish at the bottom of the sea, were equally consumed by the heat.

After re-embarking, we left the port of Khurfakan, and arrived at the city of Hormuz on the forenoon of Friday, the 12th of the month of Sahar. From the port of Hanur to that of Hormuz, our voyage lasted seventy-five days.

TRAVELS OF NIKITIN

The sultan (of Beder) moved out with his army on the fifteenth day after Ulu Bairam to join Melich-Tuchar at Kulburga (Gulbarga). But their campaign was not successful, for they only took one Indian town, and that at the loss of many people and treasures.

The Hindoo sultan Kadam is a very powerful prince. He possesses a numerous army, and resides on a mountain at Bichenegher (Bijanagar). This vast city is surrounded by three forts, and intersected by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful jungal, on the other on a dale; a wonderful place, and to any purpose convenient. On one side it is quite inaccessible; a road goes right through the town, and as the mountain rises high with a ravine below, the town is impregnable.

The enemy besieged it for a month and lost many people, owing to the want of water and food. Plenty of water was in sight, but count not be got at.

This Indian stronghold was ultimately taken by Melikh Khan Khoda, who stormed it, having fought day and night to reduce it. The army that made the siege with heavy guns, had neither eaten nor drunk for twenty days. He lost five thousand of his best soldiers. On the capture of the town twenty thousand inhabitants, men and women, had their heads cut off; twenty thousand, young and old, were made prisoners, and sold afterwards at ten *tenkas* and also at five *tenkas* a head; the children at two *tenkas* each. The treasury, however, having been found empty, the town was abandoned.

THE ITINERARY OF LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA

Bologna from 1502 to 1508[1]

The said city of Bisinegar [Vijayanagar] belongs to the King of Narsinga [i.e. Narsingha, King of Vijayanagar], and is very large and strongly walled. It is situated on the side of a mountain, and is seven miles in circumference. It has a triple circle of walls[2]. It is a place of great merchandise, is extremely fertile, and is endowed with all possible kinds of delicacies. It occupies the most beautiful site, and possesses the best air that was ever seen: with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same for fowling, so that it appears to me to be a second paradise. The king of this city is a pagan, with all his kingdom, that is to say, idolaters. He is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen. And you must know that a horse is worth at least 300, 400 and 500 *pardai*, and some are purchased for 800 *pardai*, because horses are not produced there, neither are many mares found there, because those kings who hold the seaports do not allow them to be brought there.

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1. As translated from the Original Italian Edition of 1510 by John Winter Jones F.S.A in 1863 for the Hakluyt Society with a Discourse on Varthema and his Travels in Southern Asia by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, The Argonaut Press, p. 51 to 54. 11 and 13 Southampton Row; London 1928.
2. Razzak, Paes and others have said there were seven fort walls. first three circuits were one inside the other whereas the last four had connecting doors with their walls. Maybe that is the reason why Ludovico Varthema says that there were only three lines of fort walls.

The said king also possesses 400 elephants and some dromedaries[1], which dromedaries run with great swiftness. It occurs to me here to touch upon a subject worthy of notice, viz. the discretion, the intelligence, and the strength of the elephant. We will first say in what manner he fights. When an elephant goes into battle he carries a saddle, in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastened underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carries a large and very strong wooden box, and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant, between the boxes, they place a plank the size of half a span, and between the boxes and the plank a man sits astride who speaks to the elephant, for the said elephant possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world; so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go armed with shirts of mail, and with bows and lances, swords and shields. And in like manner they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and as wide as the hand of a man. And in that way they fight. And he who sits upon his neck orders him: "Go forward" or "Turn back", "Strike this one", "Strike that one", "do not strike any more", and he understands as though he were a human being. But if any time they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks, and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight. But in every way this animal is the most discreet in the world and the most powerful. I have seen three elephants bring a ship from the sea to the land, in the manner as I will tell you. When I was in Canonor,

1 One humped camel. Effectively, in Hampi single humped camels have been carved on the walls and basements of monuments.

some Moorish merchants brought a ship on shore in this manner, after the custom of Christians. They beach ships the prow foremost, but here they put the side of the vessel foremost, and under the said ship they put three pieces of wood, and on the side next the sea I saw three elephants kneel down and with their heads push the ship on to the dry land. Many say that the elephants has no joints, and I say that it is true that they have not the joints so high as other animals, but they have them low. I tell you, moreover, that the female elephants is stronger and more proud than the male, and some of the females are mad. The said elephants are as large as three buffaloes, and they have a skin like that of the buffalo, and eyes like those of a pig, and a trunk reaching to the ground, and with this they put their food into their mouth as also their drink; for their mouth is situated beneath their throat, and almost like a pig or a sturgeon. This trunk is hollow within, and I have many times seen them fish up a *quattrino* from the ground with it. And with this trunk I have seen them pull down a branch from a tree which twenty-four of our men could not pull to the ground with a rope, and the elephants tore it down with three pulls. The two teeth which are seen are in the upper jaw. The ears are two *palmi* every way, some more, some less. Their legs are almost as large at the lower extremity as at the upper. Their feet are round like a very large trencher for cutting meat on, and around the foot there are five nails as large as the shell of an oyster. The tail is as long as that of a buffalo, about three *palmi* long, and has a few scattered hairs. The female is smaller than the male. With respect to the height of the said elephant, I have seen a great many thirteen and fourteen *palmi* high, and I have ridden on some of that height; they say, moreover, that some are found fifteen *palmi* high. Their walk is very slow, and those who are not accustomed to it

cannot ride them, because it upsets their stomach, just as it does in travelling by sea. The small elephants have a pace like that of a mule and it is a pleasure to ride them. When the said elephants are to be ridden, the said elephant lowers one of the hind legs, and by that leg it is mounted; nevertheless, you must help yourself or be helped to mount. You must also know that the said elephants do not carry a bridle or halter, or anything bound on the head. The said elephant, when he wishes to generate, goes into a secret place, that is, into the water in certain marshes, and they unite and generate like human beings. In some countries, I have seen that the finest present which can be made to a king is the parts of an elephants, which said king eats the said parts; for in some countries an elephant is worth fifty ducats, in some other countries it is worth one thousand and two thousand ducats. So that, in conclusion, I say that I have seen some elephants which have more understanding, and more discretion and intelligence, than any kind of people I have met with.

This King of Narsinga is the richest king I have ever heard spoken of. This city is situated like Milan, but not in a plain. The residence of the king is here, and his realms are placed as it might be the realm of Naples and also Venice; so that he has the sea on both sides. His Brahmins, that is, his priests, say that he possesses a revenue of 12,000 *pardai* per day. He is constantly at war with several Moorish and pagan kings. His faith is idolatrous, and they worship the devil[1], as do those of Calicut. When the proper time comes we will state in what manner they worship him. They live like pagans. Their dress is this: the men of condition wear a short shirt, and on their head a cloth gold

1. Devil (Bhūta) worship is common on the coastal areas specially on the West coast.

and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on the feet. The common people go quite naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle. The king wears a cap of gold brocade two spans long[1], and when he goes to war he wears a quilted dress of cotton, and over it he puts another garment full of golden piastres, and having all around it jewels of various kinds. His horse is worth more than some of our cities, on account of the ornaments which it wears. When he rides for his pleasure he is always accompanied by three or four kings, and many other lords, and five or six thousand horse. Wherefore he may be considered to be a very powerful lord.

His money consists of a *pardao*, as I have said. He also coins a silver money called *tare*, and others of gold, twenty of which go to a *pardao*, and are called *fanom*. And of these small ones of silver, there go sixteen to a *fanom*. They also have another coin called *cas*, sixteen of which go to a *tare* of silver. In this kingdom you can go everywhere in safety. But it is necessary to be on your guard against some lions which are on the road. I will not speak of their food at the present time, because I wish to describe it when we shall be in Calicut, where there are the same customs and the same manner of living. This king is a very great friend of the Christians, especially of the King of Portugal, because he does not know much of any other Christians. When the Portuguese arrive in his territories they do them great honour. When we had seen this so noble city for some days we turned towards Canonor. And when we had arrived there, at the end of three days we took our way by land and went to a city called Tormapatani.

Tormapatani (Dharmapatam) is distant from Canonor twelve miles, and the lord of it is a pagan. The land is not

1. Like kulāya as mentioned by Paes and Nuniz.

very rich, and is one mile from the sea, and it has a river not very large. There are many vessels of Moorish merchants here. The people of this country live miserably, and the greatest riches here consist of Indian nuts, and these they eat there with a little rice. They have plenty of timber here for building ships. In this land there are about fifteen thousand Moors, and they are subject to the Sultan or pagan lord. I do not speak of their manner of living at present, because it will be described in Calicut, inasmuch as they are all of one and the same faith. The houses in this city are not too good, for a house is worth half a *ducat*, as I will explain to you further on. Here we remained two days, and then departed and went to a place which is called Pandarani (Pantalâyini), distant from this one day's journey, and which is subject to the King of Calicut. This place is a wretched affair, and has no port. Opposite to the said city, in the sea three leagues or thereabout, there is an uninhabited island. The manner of living of this Pandarani, and their customs, are the same as those of Calicut. This city is not level, and the land is high. We departed hence and went to another place called Capogatto (Kapata), which is also subject to the King of Calicut. This place has a very beautiful palace, built in the ancient styles, and there is a small river towards the south, and it is fourleagues distant from Calicut. There is nothing to be said here, because they follow the manner and style of Calicut. We departed hence and went to the very noble city of Calicut. I have not written about the manner of living, the customs and faith, the administration of justice, dress, and country of Chiavul and of Dabul, of Bathacala, nor of the King of Onor, nor of Mangalor, nor of Canonor, nor, indeed, the King of Cucin (Cochin), nor of the King of Caicoloe (Kâyankullam), nor of that of Colon (Quilon), neither have I spoken of the King of Narsinga. Now I will speak of the

king here in Calicut, because he is the most important king of all those before mentioned, and is called Samory (Zamorin), which in the pagan language means "God on earth".

ACCOUNT OF TOME PIRES[1]

Kanara

Now you are in the last kingdom of the First India, which is called the province of the kanarese (*Canarijis*)[2]. It is bounded on one side by the kingdom of Goa, and by Anjediva (Amgadiva), and on the other by Middle India or Malabar India. Inland is the king of Narsinga, whose language is Kanarese, which is different from that of the Deccan and of the kingdom of Goa[3] There are two kings along the sea-coast and a few small regions. They are all heathens and vassals of the king of Narsinga. They are a civilized people, warriors, and practised in the use of arms both on

1. *The Suma Orientale of Tomé Pires*, An account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515: Ed. Cortesão Armando, Hakluyt Society, London, 1944, vol. I, p. 60-65.
2. *Canaridjs or Canarins* are the inhabitants of Kanara, but, according to Dalgado (*s.v*), the Portuguese erroneously designated the people of Goa by this name. *Suma Oriental*, p. 60. When Tome Pires was in India Goa was a part of Kamāṭaka and Kannaḍa was spoken there. First, Goa was the capital of one of the earliest empires of Kamāṭaka namely Kadambas. Since then it had remained part of Kamataka till it was fully occupied by the Portuguese.
3. In the Deccan Urdu-Persian was the official as well as spoken language whereas in Goa upper class people were speaking Kannaḍa and others Koṅkaṇi. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a manuscript on the lives of Christian saints (*Flos Sanctorum*) in Kannaḍa characters but the language is Koṅkaṇi mixed with Portuguese. And also there is another in latin script but it is catalogued as in "Canarin" whereas the language is again Koṅkaṇi. It seems that Europeans were unable to distinguish Kannaḍa from Konkani.

sea and land. The land we are now describing is the only one remaining to the king of Narsinga of those he possessed in the First India. It is a cultivated land, with important towns.

In the land of the Kanarese from Anjediva to Mangalore there are Mirjan (*Mjrgeu*), Honavar (*Onor*), Bhatkal (*Baticala*), Basrur (*Baçalor*), Barkur (*Bacanor*), Vdipiram (*Uḍipi*), Mangalore (*Mamgallor*). All these are trade ports. From Honawar and Mirjan to Anjediva belongs to the king of Gersoppa (*Garçopa*) who neighbours on Goa [and is] for the king of Narsinga; Bhatkal, with Basrur and other inland towns, has a king; the other four ports have captains. They are all vassals of the king of Gersoppa and pay their revenues to him.

The king of Gersoppa is an important man, with many mounted men—up to three thousand, so they say. Gersoppa stretches five leagues up the Honawar river. Inland there is a small, cool town, where *Timoja*[1] lives. He used to live in

1. "Timoja was a pirate, later employed by Albuquerque who appointed him bailiff (Aguazil) of Goa in 1510. He proved unfaithful and before his death in 1511 joined forces with the Adil Khan. "Suma Oriental" p. 61, n. 1. On the basis of a document in Goa archives Dr. Suryanath Kamath has published a short story. According to it, Timmarasa alias Timoja used to send secretly letters to King Kṛṣṇarāya on the activities of Portuguese and how they wished to establish there. He was constantly requesting the king to put a break to their activities. When Albuequerque learnt about these secret letters, he invited Timoja for a banquet and gave him wine mixed with poison. Thus, the poor Timoja breathed his last. *Vijayanagarada Kathegalu*. Also Madame G. Bouchon has published an article on this subject in the *Journal Asiatique*, According to *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History* by Dr. B.S. Shastry, p. 117. Timoja or Timmayya was an officer of Kṛṣṇarāya. He helped Albuquerque to conquer Goa who appointed him as his deputy in charge of the Hindus of Goa. He died in Vijayanagar in 1512. (I am grateful to Professor G.S. Dikshit who gave me this valueable note).

Honawar, because he was related to the king of Gersoppa. He is often at the king of Narsinga's court, and is his obedient vassal. This river of Honawar is thickly populated, and has ships, out of which *Timoja* made the armada with which he went pillaging from here to Cape Guardafui, where he took a great deal of booty. This *Timoja* was feared by the seamen and helped the king of Gersoppa.

The king of Bhatkal is a Kanarese heathen and a greater king than those of Honawar and Gersoppa. His kingdom extends a long way inland. The port of Bhatkal comes next in importance to Goa and Chaul, and has a great deal of trade. It is the port which serves the kingdom of Narsinga, and through which the horses come. The city has many merchants, both heathens and Moors. It is a great port of call with many merchants and is a large port. The king is always inland. He has made *Damj*[1] a Chetti, governor of the heathens in his kingdom, as he has the most property and is a great merchant; and the governor of the Moorish people is *Caizar*, a Moorish eunuch who was a servant of *Cojatar*,[2] the one of Ormuz. There are Moors of all nations in this city, which used to be very great before the capture of Goa by the Captain General, and which is now already of less importance. Bhatkal used to be the most important of all the ports in the kingdoms of Kanara, on account of its many merchants, and many horses from all parts were landed here, and much other merchandise. These horses were brought for the kingdom of Narsinga, and heavy dues were paid on them. The merchants returned from this land of Kanara with quantities of the best rice there is in this part of the world, that is *giraçal*[3] which is

1. Probably he was called Dhani or Dhanājī-a rich man.
2. "Cojata or Coje Atar-Khwaja Attar, wazir of Ormuz under the Sheikh Ismail." Haklyut, *Ibid.* p. 62, n. 1.
3. In Karnāṭaka even to-day a variety of rice goes by this name and it is of a nice quality.

the finest and whitest and most expensive and considered the best; after this comes *chambaçal* and after *chanbaçal* comes the *pacharil* from Goa and the kingdom of the Deccan. They also took back iron and a great deal of sugar which there is in this country, and many sugar preserves which are made in Bhatkal; these were products of the land. And many of the merchants from Malabar used to go there so that its trade was of great account. This is the most important possession the king of Narsinga has in Kanara.

As for *Baira Vera*, Barkur, *Vdipiram* and Mangalore, they are all ports for ships and merchants, who trade with Cambay and with the kingdoms of Goa and the deccan and Ormuz, taking the products of the country and bringing others in exchange. There are important captains in these ports, with garrisons of men. Their revenues are paid to the king of Narsinga. The king derives large revenues from this country of Kanara, both from the seaports and from the land, and he has fortresses, such as they use, on the sea coast, but the most powerful fortresses are formed by the mouths of the rivers. The whole country is well cultivated, large, and good. It is very productive and has many people, both mounted and on foot. It has much betel and areca. The Kanara country has many large and important praying temples. There are many Brahmans of different kinds and orders, some of them chaste and some of them not. They are in the habit of burning the women as they do in the kingdom of Goa in the same way as is told of the other heathen.

These provinces[1] are as follows; Dacanis of the kingdom of the Deccan; Konkani of the kingdom of Goa; Kanarese of the kingdom of Narsinga. Each one has its

1. This paragraph starts abruptly "These provinces...". I feel that something has been omitted either in the copy or in the original (V.F.)

own separate origin. And because these lands belong to the king of Narsinga, I decided to deal with the kingdom of Narsinga here; as it would have been as convenient to talk about him when describing the Choromandel coast, where he is a greater lord. And because he rules here I will say a little now and I will tell the rest when I am describing Choromandel.

[Narsinga]

The kingdom of Narsinga is large and very important. It is bordered on one side by the kingdom of the Deccan and Goa, and that part is Kanarese, the chief city of which is Vijayanagar (*Bizanaguar*) where the king is in residence. On the ganges side, where the river flows into the sea it marches with part of the dominions of the kingdom of Bengal and with the kingdom of Orissa, and inland it is bounded by the mountains of Delhi and on the ocean side by the provinces of Malabar and Choromandel and *Benua Quilim*.

In older times the kingdom of Narsinga was much greater than it is now and embraced almost the whole of the Deccan as far as Bengal, including Orissa and all the maritime provinces. Now it is not so big because the Deccan, Goa, Malabar and Orissa have each a king; but still it is large. With the exception of the kingdom of Delhi, this is the largest province in these parts, and they say, in India.

The king is a heathen of Kanara, and on the other hand he is a Kling; in his court the language is mixed, but his natural speech is Kanarese[1]. This King is a warrior and he often goes into the field with more than forty thousand mounted men and a large number on foot. He must have five hundred elephants, two hundred of which are for war. He is always at war, sometimes with Orissa, sometimes

1. Pires was in the times of Kṛṣṇarāya and he says that the king's natural language was Kannaḍa. Some modem historians have difference of opinion on Kṛṣṇarāya's mothertongue. According to Pires king was "Kling" i.e. Kalinga that is Telugu; but his natural language was Canarim-Kanarese. Some modem historians are of the opinion that "Kling" is a misprint for "King". Towards the end of the paragraph again the word Kling is used to designate Telugus.

with the Deccan and sometimes inside his own country. He has great captains and many mercenaries. When he rests it is in Vijayanagar, a city of twenty thousand inhabitants[1] which lies between two mountain ranges. The houses there are not usually very much ornamented. The king's houses or palaces are large and well built, and the king has a good following of noblemen and horsemen. He has great lords with him and he is held in great respect. There are a thousand girl entertainers in his court, and four or five thousand men of the same profession. These are Klings and not Kanarese, because the natives of this province of Kalinga[2] Talingo are more graceful and more apt in mimicry than those of other parts. Many of these people are scattered from here all over the three Indias, and I will tell more about them in the description of his other dominion.

As the first India ends at Mangalore in the land of Kanarese, you are now entering into the Second or Middle India, which begins at Manjeshwaram[3] (*Mayciram*), the first port in Malabar, and ends at the river Ganges on the Bengal frontier. And the present account of this land will be divided into two parts: in the first part you will be told about the land of Malabar, how large it is, how many ports it has where there are ships, how many king it has, what customs the people have, and who is the chief person in the province, and you will also be told about the trade in

1. "The Lisbon MS says 50,000 inhabitants." *Ibid.* p. 64, n. 5. But even then also it is too poor a number for a royal capital.
2. The ancient name of Telugu country that is modern Āndhra was Ten-Kaling i.e. south of Kalinga. Kalinga was the capital of Orissa. As Telugu speaking people hailed from the region South of Kalinga they were rightly called "ten-kalingas" people from south of Kalinga. So, Pires gives the ancient name of these Telugus.
3. This is one of the many confusions in the divisions given by *Suma Oriental*, I think, says the editor of the text.

Malabar and about the number of ships there are there.

In the second part you will hear about the king of Narsinga and his country, about the people with whom he fights, what horsemen he has, and something about his habits, and also the extent of the kingdom, with some account of the trade there is in his ports also.

And then we must deal with the kingdom of Orissa or Odia and our Second or Middle India will have been as far as possible described[1].

1. To avoid prolixity here we stop the account of Tome Pires.

THE BOOK OF DUARTE BARBOSA[1]

Forty leagues (of this country) further inland there is a very great city of Bisnagua, wherein dwell folk without number; it is fenced about with strong ramparts and by a river as well, on the further side of a great chain of mountains. It stands on a very level plain. Here always dwells the king of Narsyngua, who is a Heathen and is called Rayen[2], and here he has great and fair palaces, in which he always lodges, with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built, and within them are wide open spaces, with water-tanks in great numbers, in which is reared abundance of fish. He also has gardens full of trees and sweet-scented herbs. In the city as well there are palaces after the same fashion, wherein dwell the great Lords and Governours thereof.

The other houses of the people are thatched "but none the less are very well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open places." And the folk here are ever in such numbers that the streets and places cannot contain them. There is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as among those who come thither from outside, to whom the King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any

1. Dames, Masel Longworth, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, The Hakluyt Soceity, London, MCMXVII, Chapter 84: The Great City of Bisnagua.
2. Rāya or Rāja the king.

annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, "Jew" Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another. Here there is a diamond-mine[1] as there is also in the kingdom of Daquem, whence are obtained many good diamonds; all other precious stones are brought hither for sale from Peguu and Ceilam[2], and from Ormus (and Cael)[3] they bring pearls and seed-pearls. These precious stones circulate here more freely than elsewhere, because of the great esteem in which they are held (for they deck their persons with them, for which reason they collect here in great quantities). Here also is used great store of the brocades of poorer quality brought for sale from China (and Alexandria[4]), (and much cloth dyed scarlet-in-grain and other colours and coral worked into paternosters and in branches[5]), "also metals both wrought and unwrought" copper in abundance, quick-silver, vermilion, saffron, rosewater, great store of opium, sanders-wood, aloes-wood, camphor, musk (of which a great quantity is

1. A few years ago, in an unpublished manuscript I remember to have read that there are diamonds in Mālyavanta Raghunātha hill in Hampi. It is quite probable that Barbosa is referring to these mines.
2. Ceylon.
3. "The name of Cael was added by Ramusio to Barbosa's text, and is also found in the Spanish version. This is the town of Kāyal situated in Tinnevelly on the Gulf of Manār, now a small village at some dictance from the sea. This identification was made by the Rev. D. Caldwell, whose note on the subject was embodied by Sir H. Yule in his *Marco Polo* (Ed. 1871, II, 307 ff). It was celebrated for its pearl-fisheries:-*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, p. 203, n. 1.
4. "Alexandria is added by Ramusio and the Spanish version. In the Portuguese text China is given as the only country from which these brocades came." *Ibid.* p. 203 n. 2.
5. "This passage is translated from Ramusio's Italian. It is not inserted by the Portugues editors. The Spanish version has only "coral worked into round beads." *Ibid.* p. 203, n. 3.

consumed yearly, as they use to anoint themselves therewith), and scented materials. Likewise much pepper is used here and everywhere throughout the kingdom, which they bring hither from Malabar on asses and pack-cattle.

All this merchandize is bought and sold by *pardaos*. (The gold coin, which they call pardao is worth three hundred *maravedis*) which are made in certain towns of this kingdom, and over the whole of India they make use of this coin, which is current in all these kingdoms. The gold is rather base. The coin is round in form and is made with a die. Some of them have on one side Indian letters and on the other two figures, of a man and a woman, and others have only letters on one side. "They are made especially in a town called Hora, from which they call them horaos; the value and fashion of which coins have been set forth above in many places. Those of this place are perfectly genuine, not one of them has been ever found false, nor is now so found, whereas many of other places are (false)."

Customs of the Kingdom of Narsingua and of the Inhabitants of the Country

The king seldom goes forth from this city, he dwells therein with great luxury and without any trouble, for he passes on all the governance of the realm to his Governours. The natives of this land are Heathen like himself; they are tawny men, nearly white. Their hair is long, straight and black. The men are of good height with "physnomies" like our own: the women go very trimly clad; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, wound very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs[1] but open in front: on their heads they carry small turbans,

1. "Short white shirts of cotton or silk....., which are gathered between the thighs but open in front". The meaning is not clear.

and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes,[1] and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands. The substances with which they are always anointed are these: white sanders-wood[2], aloes, camphor, musk, and saffron, all ground fine and kneaded with rosewater. With these they anoint themselves after bathing, and so they are always very highly scented. They wear many rings set with precious stones and many earrings set with fine pearls in their ears. As well as the page armed with a sword, whom, as I have said, they take with them, they take also another who holds an umbrella[3] (lit. a shade-hat with a handle) to shade them and to keep off the rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. They are so made as to open and shut, and many cost three or four hundred cruzados.

The women wear white garments of very thin cotton, or silk of bright colours, five yards long: one part of which is girt round them below, and the other part they throw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way

1. Often in sculptures we see persons wearing a kind of gown covering the head and descending almost upto ankles. As it looks like the dress of shepherds some modern scholars thought that they were peasants. But, in Veṅkatanātha (Acyutarāya) temple, on the walls of Garuda's shrine men with long capes are represented. Probably, they were guardians of gates.
2. Sandal-wood?
3. To go with an umbrella was more a sign of honour and high rank the person held in king's court than for protection from heat or rain. Honouring with Umbrella is still in practice when royal dignitaries or Gods in temples go in procession. These white umbrellas are beautifully decorated with tassels etc. as Barbosa describes.

that one arm and shoulder remains uncovered[1], as with a scarf (*reguacho*). They wear leather shoes well embroidered in silk; their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear earrings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the more part of this people is very wealthy.

They teach their women from childhood to sing, play and dance, and to turn about and take many light steps. These women are very beautiful and very bold. The King and the country-people marry almost in our way, and have a marriage-law; yet they marry several wives, especially the rich who are able to maintain them. The king has in his palace many women of position, daughters of great lords of the realm, and others as well, some as concubines, and some as handmaids. For this purpose the fairest and most healthy women are sought throughout the kingdom, that they may do him service with cleanliness and neatness, for all the service is carried out by women, and they do all the work inside the gates, and hold all the duties of the household. They are all gathered inside the palaces, where

1. Towards the end of fifteenth century there was a slight change in the mode of wearing sari. Women began to wear the sari as described by Barbosa. In Virabhadra temple at Lepākṣi we see some sculptures and paintings have dresses which correspond to the description given by our author. Some women have the *pallu* on the right shoulder whereas others on the left. But, how to manage with five yards cloth as mentioned in the text?

they have in plenty all that they require, and have many good lodgings. They sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king. They bathe daily in the many tanks, of which I spoke above, as kept for that purpose. The King goes to see them bathing, and she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber. The first son born, whether of one woman or another, is heir to the kingdom. There is such envy and rivalry among these women with regard to the King's favour that "some kill others" and some poison themselves.

The said king has a certain house as a hall of audience,[1] where he is present on certain days with his governours and officials to hear the correspondence and attend to the administration of the kingdom. He punishes severely those who deserve it, and rewards the good with many honours and thanks. When he finds any great Lord or his relation guilty of any crime, he sends for him, and (as among them all go in great state) they come in rich litters borne by their servants, with many led horses and mounted men. On arrival at the palace the king is informed, and orders him to enter, and if he does not give a just excuse for his fault, "he chastises him in words as thoroughly as he deserves, and besides this, takes from him half of his revenues", [he immediately order him to be stripped and stretched on the ground and given a severe beating; and if this person happens to be his own near relative and a great lord, the King himself beats him with his own hand, and after he has been well beaten, he orders that rich investments should be given him from his wardrobe, and be taken in his palanquin very honourably with music and

1. For "rolação" read relacao, one of the meanings is "a high court of justice". Here it seems to refer to the public hall of audience which is an essential feature of every oriental court." Dames ibid, p. 208-209, n. 1.

rejoicing to his own house.]

Thus there are always many palanquins and horsemen at the palace gates. The King of Narsyngua has always more than nine hundred elephants, which he purchases for one thousand five hundred[1] and for two thousand cruzados each; they are of great size and beauty, and he ever takes them with him for reasons of state as well as for war. He has also upwards of twenty thousand horses, each of which costs him from four to six hundred cruzados; and some specially chosen for his own use he buys for nine hundred or a thousand cruzados. These horses are distributed among the great lords, to whom the king makes them over for maintenance, and they must continually give him accounts of them. In the same way he gives them to other noblemen. To the kings he give one horse each for his own riding, a groom and a slave-girl for his service, and a monthly allowance of four or five *pardaos* as the case may be; and daily supplies as well for the horse and groom, which they fetch from the great kitchens kept up by the King to feed his elephants and horses. These are in many large houses where are very many great copper cauldrons, and in these are many officials who look after the preparation of the food and others who prepare it. The food is rice boiled with chick-peas and other pulse; and each man as I have said comes to draw the ration of his horse or

1. *"Prices of elephants and horses.* The elephants are said to have cost from 1,500 to 2,000 cruzados...The price given for horses refers to those imported by the Portuguese from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, of which great numbers must have passed through Barbosa's hands. His figures may therefore be compared with those given twenty years later by Fernão Nuniz who was in charge of Portuguese horse-trade with Vijayanagar. The figures here given make the general run of horses cost from £ 195 to £ 292, while those specially reserved for the king cost from £ 439 to £ 487. *Ibid.*,p. 210, n. 1.

elephant. And if they perceive that any horse or elephant thrives (not) when in charge of the man to whom it was entrusted they take it away from him and give him a worse. And in a similar way, you may well think, they act towards each man who keeps his horse or elephant in good condition. The great lords act in the same way their vassals. Horses do not thrive well in this country, and live therein but a short time. Those that are here come from the kingdoms of Ormus and Cambaya, and bring in high prices by reason of the great need for them here. Between both horse and foot the King of Narsyngua has more than a hundred thousand men of war continually in his pay, and five or six thousand women whom also he pays to march in his train, and wheresoever he wishes to make war he distributes them according to the number of men whom he sends forth, and he says that war cannot be waged where there are no women. These are all unmarried, great musicians, dancers and acrobats, and very quick and nimble at their performances. The officials of war in choosing a man for the army strip him naked and look at him to find out how tall he is, what is his name, in what land he was born, the names of his father and mother, and in this way he is appointed without leave being given him to go to his country, and if he goes without leave and afterwards is captured he is very evilly entreated (and among these men at arms are many knights who gather here from various lands to get the pay, and nevertheless do not cease to live according to their own law).

Of the Three kinds of Heathen and their Customs

In this kingdom of Narsyngua there are three classes of Heathen, each one of which has a very distinct rule of its own, and also their customs differ much one from the other.

The principal of these is that of the King, the great Lords, the knights and fighting men, who may marry, as I have said, as many women as they wish, and are able to maintain: their sons inherit their estates: the women are bound by very ancient custom, when their husbands die, to burn themselves alive with their corpses which are also burnt. This they do to honour the husband. If such a woman is poor and of low estate, when her husband dies she goes with him to the burning ground "where there is a great pit" in which a pile of wood burns. When the husband's body has been laid therein and begins to burn, she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fire, where both their bodies are reduced to ashes. But if she is a woman of high rank, rich, and with distinguished kindred, whether she be a young maid or an old woman, when her husband dies she accompanies the aforesaid corpse of her husband to the aforesaid burning ground, bewailing him; and there they dig a round pit, very wide and deep, which they fill with wood (and a great quantity of sandal wood therewith), and, when they have kindled it, they lay the man's body therein, and it is burnt while she weeps greatly. Wishing to do all honour to her husband she then causes all his kindred and her own to be called together, that they may come to feast and honour her thereby, all of whom gather together at the said field for this ceremony, where she spends with them and with her kindred and friends all that she has in festivities with music and singing and dancing and banquets. Thereafter she attires herself very richly with all the jewels she possesses, and then distributes to her sons, relatives and friends all the property that remains. Thus arrayed she mounts on a horse, light grey or quite white if possible, that she may be the better seen of all the people. Mounted on this horse they lead her through the whole city with great rejoicings, until

they come back to the very spot where the husband has been burnt, where, they cast a great quantity of wood into the pit itself and on its edge they make a great fire. When it has burnt up somewhat they erect a wooden scaffold with four or five steps where they take her up just as she is. When she is on the top she turns herself round thereon three items, worshipping towards the direction of sunrise, and, this done, she calls her sons, kindred and friends, and to each she gives a jewel, whereof she has many with her, and in the same way every piece of her clothing until nothing is left except a small piece of cloth with which she is clothed from the waist down. all this she does and says so firmly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that she seems not about to die. Then she tells the men who are with her on the scaffold to consider what they owe to their wives who, being free to act, yet burn themselves alive for the love of them, and the women she tells to see how much they owe to their husbands, to such a degree as to go with them even to death. Then she ceases speaking, and they place in her hands a pitcher full of oil, and she puts it on her head, and with it she again turns round thrice on the scaffold and again worships towards the rising sun. Then she casts the pitcher of oil into the fire and throws herself after it with as much goodwill as if she were throwing herself on a little cotton, from which she could receive no hurt. The kinsfolk all take part at once and cast into the fire many pitchers of oil and butter which they hold ready for this purpose, and much wood on this, and therewith bursts out such a flame that no more can be seen. The ashes that remain after these ceremonies are thrown into running streams. All this they do in general without any hindrance, as it is the custom of all. Those who do not so, they hold in great dishonour, and their kindred shave their heads and turn them away as disgraced and a shame to their

families. And as for some who have not done it, to whom they wish to show favour, if they are young they send them to a temple there to earn money for the said temple with their bodies. There are some temples which have a hundred or more women of good birth in them; and some unmarried women put themselves there of their own free-will. They are forced to play and sing before the idols for certain hours every day[1], and continue to earn money for these for most of the time left them. This abominable practice of burning is so customary, and is held in such honour among them, that when the King dies four or five hundred women burn themselves in this way, for which they make the pit and the fire to such a size that they can hold any number who may wish to throw themselves in; and for this too they keep ready great store of sanders-wood, eagle-wood, brazil-wood[2], and also of gingelly oil and butter to make the fire burn better. Some of these women throw themselves in suddenly while the king is burning, others with the ceremeonies I have just described, and such is the rush as to who shall be burnt with him that it is a frightful thing.

"Many men who are his intimates are also burnt with him.[3]"

1. Dance and music are parts of rituals in Hindu temples. At the time of main rituals these two services are offered to divinities.
2. Eagle-wood-Agar tree; Brazil-wood is a kind of hard red wood from a tropical South American tree of the genus Ceasealpinia, according to Oxford English Reference Dictionary. But, I don't know how this wood was available in Vijayanagara city?
3. It was customary in those days for men who were in the service of the king to make vow to die with him. It was considered as a great honour to end their lives with their monarch. Some even went to the extent of serving as bed to the defunct king. Some inscriptions mention "mñcavāli" i.e. who dedicated their lives to serve as bed to their lords. "mañca" means cot and vāḷi is servant?

These men[1] eat flesh and fish and other meats, saving beef only, which is forbidden by their perverse idolatry.

The Heathen called Bramenes

Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenes, who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship. These eat nothing subject to death, they marry only one wife, and if she dies, do not marry again (and their sons inherit all their goods). As a mark of their dignity they wear over their shoulders three linen threads[2]. Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable to death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues. some are great eaters and never work except to feed well; they will start at once on a "six days' journey" (twenty or twenty-four miles, Ramusio; eight leagues, Spanish) only to get a good bellyful. Their honey and butter, rice, sugar, "stews of" pulse and milk.[3]

Of Another Sort of Heathen like the Bramenes

There is in this kingdom also another class of folk very like unto the Bramenes[4], who wear round their necks certain

1. "These men" refers to the whole class just described, viz, the king and the nobles. Barbosa, Ibid,p. 217, n. 1.
2. This is a sacred thread which the brahmins wear for the first time when they undergo a ceremony called "upanayana". After this ceremony the brahmin is called "dvija" twice-born, because with this ceremony he is considered as born again and his sins of first birth are expiated.
3. This sentence is not intelligible.
4. They are not Brahmins but Lingāyats. Dames, editor of Duarte Barbosa, is also of the same opinion. See his lengthy note on this

cords of twisted silk, from which hangs a cloth bag containing a stone the size of an egg, which they say is their god. These also are much regarded and held in respect, nor will any man do them harm by reason of the reverence they have for that stone, which they call Tambarane[1]. They also eat no flesh nor fish. They go everywhere in safety taking goods from one kingdom to another in order that these may not be stolen. In transporting these goods they must wear their Tambaranes on their necks.

Many of them are merchants and trade as well. They marry only one wife, and when one of them dies the wife buries herself alive[2]. They dig a great hole deep enough to come up to her neck, and place her in it alive, standing on her feet, and begin to shovel in the earth around her, trampling it down with their feet until she is covered up to the neck with well-trodden earth. Then they place a great stone over her, and there she stays dying alive and walled up in clay, and they carry out other ceremonies for her which would take too long to describe; a miserable and pitiful thing, making us consider what strength ambition and reputation have in this world, when they can induce these women to submit of their own will to such a horrible end, for nothing else than for honour and to be held in good repute, failing which they would be regarded as no longer alive.

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subject. *Ibid.* p. 217-218, n.3. From fifteenth century onwards the real ascent of Vīraśaivism begins with the publication of *Śunyasampādane.* Now a days Liṅgāyats carry this Liṅga around their neck kept in a small coffret in silver which is strung with threads whereas in those days, from the chronicle it appears that only religious mendicants called "jaṅgama-s" were carrying it on their body.

1. It must be "Triyambaka", one of the names of Śiva.
2. Nuniz also speaks of it. See Nuniz's *recit.*

The women of this land are so bold in their idolatry and do such marvels for the love of their gods, that it is a terrible thing ["As to the women of this country although they are so delicate and go about with so many jewels and scents], I cannot refrain from saying what I have seen of the greatness and incredible constancy of their minds in addition to the matters related above. If any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy she makes a vow to her god that if he will arrange for her marriage she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled, and she obtains him for her husband, she tells him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then, appointing a certain day for the ceremony, they take a great ox-cart and set-up therein a tall water-lift like those used in castille for drawing water from wells, at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks. She goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung, also dancers and tumblers. She is naked from the waist up, and wears cotton garments below. When she arrives at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) the lift and push the hooks into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then they put a "small dagger" [small round shield, Ramusio and Spanish] into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the (arm of the) lift to rise, with much outcry and shouting from the people. She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no signs of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband. In this manner they conduct her to the temple wherein is the idol to whom she has vowed such a sacrifice, on arriving at the gate whereof they take her down

and attend to her wounds, and make her over to her husband, while she, according to her station in life, gives great gifts and alms to the Bramenes and idols, and food in abundance to all who have accompanied her.

And another sort of idolatry is practised in this kingdom. Many women, through their superstition, dedicate the maidenhead of their daughters to one of their idols, and as soon as they reach the age of twelve years they take them to the monastery or house of worship where that idol is, accompanied with exceeding respect, by all their kindred, holding a festival for the aid as though she were to be married. And outside the gate of the monastery or church is a square block of black stone of great hardness about the height of a man, and around it are wooden gratings which shut it in. On these are placed many oil lamps which burn by night, and these gratings they decorate for the ceremony with many pieces of silk that they may be shut in and the folk outside may not be able to see them. On the said stone is another stone as high as a stooping man, in the middle of which is a hole in which is inserted a sharp-pointed stick. The maid's mother then goes inside the grating with her daughter and some of the other women of her kin, and after great ceremonies, have been performed "as to which I have scant knowledge by reason that they are concealed from view", the girl with that stick takes her own virginity and sprinkles the blood on those stones," and therewith their idolatry is accomplished."

The King of Narsynga is ofttimes at war with the King of Daquem and the King of Otisa[1] (who is another Heathen king), which also is situated within in the interior; and all these do one another all the injury they can.

He of Narsynga seldom goes to the war himself but

1. Daquem is Deccan. Here Barbosa refers to Ādil Shah of Bijapura. Otisa is Orissa.

sends his captains and armies, and when the war has arrived at such a point that he considers it necessary to go in person, and when he has settled in his Council that he will go; on an appointed day the king goes forth to an open plain as if he were going for his pleasure, mounted on an elephant or in a palanquin, each finely adorned with gold and precious stones, accompanied by a great number of horsemen and footmen, and many elephants well-drawn up in line on the right before him, covered with scarlet and silken cloths. When he arrives at the plain they bring him a horse whereon he resides holding in his hand a bow and an arrow, which arrow he lets fly towards the country with which he is about to wage war. He then gives out in how many days from that time he will start, and this news runs through the whole city and kingdom. Thence he goes forth at once and fixes his camping ground in the open country where he awaits the time fixed for his advance. When this time is fulfilled he issues a proclamation ordering that the whole city shall be at once set on fire, saving the palaces, fortresses and temples, and those of certain lords which are not thatched, and this he does in order that all men shall attend with their wives and sons and households, all are ordered to go thither, for he says that men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household good on them. To all he gives good pay, and more especially to the numerous unmarried women, very many of whom they take with them, some of whom are much respected and of great importance, rich and beautiful, wherefore those who are enamoured of them fight better to do them service though they fight not themselves. And it is said that there is a great concourse of men thither from many lands on account of these same women. Among them are many women who are reserved for the king, and these travel in great state for they have great riches. Each

of these principal women takes in her train five or six very beautiful young women, who are made over to her by their mothers to be brought up, and they take them with them to the Court, where they are settled on good pay, and this they hold among them to be a great honour. Some of them are so rich that a short time ago one of them, dying without son or daughter, made the King heir to all her property, who, when he sent to collect what she had left, found that a sum of severty thousand *pardaos* remained as well as another twelve thousand, which during her life she had set apart and left to one of her handmaids whom she had brought up from childhood; wherein there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and richest found in this world!

And the King possesses great cities "wherein dwell many merchants, both Moors and Heathen, and there is great traffic chiefly in precious stones, which are held in great esteem in that kingdom; which trade is greatly honoured there. The King possesses a great treasure thereof, and boasts much of this. When he would know what any stone is he sends for it, for he says that what price soever was paid for it, that same price he will pay to make it his own.

"When the King moves in person not less than a hundred thousand warriors go with him; and this is his manner of travelling. They march but three leagues a day, and, the day's march finished, they fix on a wide camping-ground, and at once a great town of straw is erected there, the houses all arranged in streets with many open spaces. Here they must halt three days, so that they spend three days on every three leagues, and when they are to start a gong is sounded, and at once the town is set on fire and all depart; and thus they continue until they arrive at their appointed place."

They are much given to the chase, and so, both for hawking and hunting they keep many small ambling ponies.

CAESARO FEDERICI OR CAESAR FREDERIKE.

Extracts of Master CAESAR FREDERIKE his eighteene yeeeres Indian Observations.[1]

In the yeere of our Lord God 1563, Caesar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the World, took my journey to Alepo and there I acquainted my self with Merchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were merchants, and consorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, we came to a Citie called Bir. (Thence to Babylon or Bagdet, and so to Basora and Ormus.)

In the yeer of our Lord 1567[2], I went from Goa to Bezeneger, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdom of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the Land, in the companie of two other Merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian Horses to that King: because the

1. Here I have reproduced as it is, in its integrality, the English version given in "Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes", published Din Glasgow, MCMV, pp. 92-102. And also I have the original in Italian ed. by Ramusio, IV, entitled "Viaggi di C esere Federici". In Italian his name is spelt is Cesare Federici; CESAR FREEDERIKE in Purcha's and Ceaser Frederic Ceasar Frederick" by Sewell and by the other English historians.
Donald F. Lach, the author of *India in the eyes of Europe*, The sixteenth Century, Chicago and London, 1968, is right in saying that "His (Federici's) book is neverthless valuable for the simple and clear descriptions which he gives of the trade routes, products, and customs of the East" p. 469.

2. In the original it is "Del MDLXVI io mi parti di Goa per Bezeneger" i.e. In the year 1566 I started from Goa to Bezeneger (Vijayanagar).

Horses of that Countrie are of a small stature: and at the going out of Goa the Horses pay custome, two and forty Pagodies for every Horse, which Pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of gold of that value. So that the Arabian Horses are of great value in those Countries, as 300. 400. 500. and to 1000. Duckets a Horse.

Bezeneger Idalcan, Xamalucco &c. A most unkind and wicked treason against their Prince; this they have for giving credite to strangers, rather than to their owne native people.

The citie of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565 by foure Kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure Kings were these following: the first was called Dialcan, the second Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc and the fourth Viridy[1]. And yet these foure Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourscore thousand men. These two Captaines being of one Religion with the foure Kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of four houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King, and made such disorder in his Armie, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this Kingdome governed by three

1. For the identification of these names see in Nuniz's account.

brethren which were Tyrants, the which keeping the right-ful King in prison, it was their use every yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three Captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they took the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the Royall Throne, and was called the King: the second was called Temiragio and he took the government on him: the third was called Bengatre,[1] and he was Captaine generall of the Armie. These three brethern were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were never heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battell, having lost one of his eyes. When the newes came to the Citie of the overthrowe in the battell, the wives and children of these three Tyrants with their lawfull King (kept prisoner)[2] fled away, spoyled as they were, and the foure Kings of the Moores entered the Citie Bezeneger with great triumph, and there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne Kingdomes, because they were not able to maintayne such a Kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrie.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall, carried those

1. The three brothers were: Rāmarāya (also known as Aḷiya Rāmarāya), Timmarāya and Veṅkaṭādri.
2. In the original version in Italian this part of the text is not in brackets.

Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him:, he gave the Merchants faire words, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desparate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have discharged all my businesse, for it was necessarie to rest there until the wayes were cleere of Theeves, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herselfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very earely, either on Horsebacke or on an Elephant or else is borne by eight men on a small stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride carried round about the Citie, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with Jewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the partie, and they goe with as great joy as Brides doe in Venince to their Nuptials: she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth through

the Citie as she passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deer spouse and husband. Shee[1] is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they go out of the Citie, and going along the Rivers side called Nigondin,[2] which runneth under the walls of the Citie, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steps up: the aforesaid Cave is full of dryed wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shee bee burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresaid River, where shee putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and covering herselfe with a cloth, because shee will not bee seene of the people

1. Sometimes the word she is spelt in the normal way as "she" and at times "shee". I have reproduced the text as it is.
2. Nigondin is a deformation of Ānegondi. The Tuṅgabhadrā flows between Ānegondi and Hampi. In Karnāṭaka, often rivers are called by the name of an important place near which it flows. To quote an example: River Tuṅgabhadrā is referred to as "Hampihoḷe" in an inscription in the temple of Viṭhala. Same river Tuṅgabhadrā touches Harihar where it is known as Harihar hoḷe (river). Kumadvati another river flows near Karjigi where it is called as "Karjigi hoḷe".

being naked, she throweth herselfe into the River, saying: O wretches, wash away yur sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of fourteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they go up to the pinnacle of the square Cave werein the fire is made. When shee is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a Mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucke away, shewing therin an heart not fearfull, and that they are not affraid of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it over her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning[1]: and when there dyeth any Great man, his Wife

1. Towards NE of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha (wrongly known as Acyutarāya temple) on the way to Viṭhala there is a small rocky hill called Pāgadāṇiguḍḍa. From the river to this hillock on the road there are many memoraial stones. As this spot is not far from the river, I feel that this must have been the place where "sati" rites were performed. Compared to other accounts on this topic it looks that

with all her Slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him. Also in this Kingdome I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were upright, then cometh his wife before him on his knees, casting her arme about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, until such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there cometh a man behind the woman and strangleth her: then when shee is dead the workemen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567[1] for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their Citie was sacked by the foure Kings, the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was there but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine size and bigger then that size are all for the King, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that they have beene in that Kingdome.

Caesaro Fededrici has really witnesse a "sati" rite and probably that is the reason why he has been able to give such detailed pen-picture of the ceremony.

1. Our traveller gives an interesting account of which we will see the same matter in an anonymous letter. In the year 1567 he is mentioning actually what happened after the battle of Tālikōṭā and the sack of the city of Vijayanagara. According to Federici King Sadāśivarāya is murdered and Timmarāja fled to Penugoṃḍe which Federici calls as Penegonde.

The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of Temeragio had put to death the lawfull King which hee had in Prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that Kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many Kings, and great division in that Kingdome, and the **Citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie**, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts. The circuit of this Citie is foure and twentie miles about, and within the walls are certine Mountaines. the houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all saving the three Palaces of the three tyrant Brethren, and the Pagodes which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Marble. I have seene many Kings Courts, and yet I have seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports.[1] First when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers: then within these there are four lesser gates which are kept with Porters.[2] Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that keepeth watch & ward night and day: and within that

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1. Our visitor expresses his astonishment about the grandeur of Vijayanagar palaces. Even in its state of abandonment it appeared to him "none in greatness like to this of Bezeneger". "There are nine gates to this fort like nine openings of the body" says saint Purandaradāsa in one of his songs. V. Filliozat: "The town-planning of Vijayanagar (city)": *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, London, 1979. Also, for further information see Dr. C.S. Patil's articles on gates and ports: *Vijayanagar: Progress of Research* 1983-84 and 1984-87.

2. As the English translation is done after the Dutch translation of the original text, it seems to me that the English version is a little far from the original.

another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this way are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser Gates within are kept with guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greater part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to do their businesse, and make their feasts in the night rather then by day. The Citie is very safe from Theeves for the Portugall Merchants sleepe in the streets, or under the Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night.[1] At the end of five moneths I determined to goe for Goa in the companie of two other Portugall Merchants, which were making ready to depart, with two Palanchines[2] or little Litters which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchini which are men hired to carry the Palanchine, eight for a palanchines foure at a time: they carry them as were to carry Barrowes. And I bought me two Bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and provision, for in that Countrey men ride on bullocks with pannels, as wee terme them, girts and bridles, as they have a very good commodious pace. From Bezenneger to Goa in summer it is eight daies journey, we went in the midst of Winter,[3] in the month of July and were fifteene dayes

1. Note that in spite of the disturbed situation the author says that the city was safe from robbery and thieves.
2. Palanquin or "pallakki" in Kannada has become "palanchine" to the Italian traveller. In Purchas' version this word is written with majuscule "P" but at times minuscule.
3. In the West it rains much during Winter. And, during their journey, when Europeans experienced heavy rains they called it "Winter". Féderici started his return journey to Goa in the month of July. In the beginning of his récit he says that he spent eight months in Vijayanagar. That means he was there from November-December

coming to Ancola on the coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two Bullocks: he that carried my victuals was weake and could not go and the other, when I came unto a River where was a low bridge to passe over, I put my Bullocke to swim there and in the middest of the River there was a little...[1] unto the which my bullcke went, and finding...[2] there hee remaiend still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leave him, and that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go seven dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with the Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in the journey, for that every day we were taken Prisoners, by reason of the great dissention in that Kingdome: every morning at our departure we must pay rescat foure or five Pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, when as we came into a new Governours Country, as every day we did, although they were all tributarie to the King of bezeneger, yet every one of them stamped a severall coyne of copper, so that the money that wee took this day would not serve the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to Ancola, which is a Countrey of the Queen of Gargopam, tributarie to the King of Bezeneger.

The Mercandise that come in and out to Bezeneger every yeere.

The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damaskes and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China,

1566 to July 1567. In that case 1566 is justified as the date for the beginning of his voyage to Vijayanagara.

1. One word is not clear in the xerox copy I have. It must be "island".
2. Again one word is not clear in my copy. The word must be "pasture".

Saffron and Scarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducats of Gold:

The apparell of those people.
The apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damask, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called Colae[1], made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of gold.[2]

1. Almost all the European travellers who have visited Vijayanagar speak of this head wear "Colae". Here, Federici gives in detail the materials used for its fabrication. See in Paes and Nuniz also.
2. Here ends Féderici's description of the capital city Vijayanagar. Then he goes to Ancola and so on.

AN ANONYMOUS LETTER

An anonymous Jesuit who wrote in Goa a life of St. Francis Xavier, in 1583, describes the state of the kingdom, which he had travelled through, as follows[1]:
"This town (San Thomé of Mylapore) is in the kingdom of Bisnaga, called otherwise Narsing, which some years back was one of the largest, most powerful and richest kingdoms of the whole East; because its sovereign ruled over numberless people and could raise an army either of one million or one million and a half soldiers, so much so that all the kings and princes who were his neighbours were also subjected to him; he enjoyed a very large revenue and there was in his army a great deal of elephantry and

1. Rev. H. Heras: *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*, in Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, vol. XIV, no. 2, January 1924, p. 130-131. In the beginning of his article Rev. Heras has given an introduction which rouses much interest to the historians. His article starts "The rev. Arthur Slater, in a paper read before the Mythic Soceity of Bangalore and published in the *Journal* in in July 1918, said: "In the time of Vijayanagar kingdom, a considerable number of Jesuit Fathers resided in the city, and appear to have obtained great privileges from the ruling king..." (see vol. VIII). Further the Rev. Father adds "I shall publish in this paper some unknown extracts of Jesuit letters which will confirm the above quoted statement, and will bring out some facts not yet recorded" and he continues "The known grants of several monarchs of this dynasty suggest something more than a nominal dignity, and the contemporary European missionaries who are better eye-witnesses than the travellers, because of their permanent stay in the country, do otherwise describe the kingdom of Vijayanagar after the battle of Talikota disaster." p. 131.

cavalry since he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country, because they come from both Arabia and Persia. But eighteen years ago his power was decaying on account of different circumstances: because kingly offspring being wanted, a succession war burst out and many principal chiefs arose in arms against that who ruled at this time and, in the course of the war, plundered and destroyed the city of Bisnaga,[1] which was the royal city, and capital of the whole of the kingdom, so populous, rich and well-fitted that there were within its enclosure about a thousand temples, they say. The ruins that remain still show evidently that it was one of the wonders of the East. But in spite of that the Sovereign of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army.''[2]

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1. "mas de 18 años á esta parte por diuersos acontescimientos fué su poder muy disminuido; porque faltando succession de la verdadera progenie de los reyes, se mouieron en él diuersas guerras por causa del suceder, y se leuantaron muchos señores principales contra el que agora gouierna, y en vna guerra fué destriuida y assolada la grande ciudad de Bisnaga, que era ciudad real, y cabeça de toda aquella tierra, tan populosa, rica y bastezida, que dizen auía en ella cerca de mil templos"....Monumenta Xaveriana, vol. I, p. 62.
The anonymous author of Monumenta Xaveriana passed through Hampi-Vijayanagar in or about 1583 and he gives a picture of the events that took place after the battle of Tālikōṭa, ravaging and final abandonment of the capital city by the hindus and their kings.
2. Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu. Monumenta Xaveriana ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta, Tomus, I, pp. 61-62 (Matriti 1899-1900).

Appendix B[1]

THE STATE OF HAMPI RUINS IN ABOUT 1878[2]

The distance to Bijanagar which lies N.W. of Bellari, is 34 miles.

The traveller is particularly requested to pay the hire of the bullocks and other charges at the end of each stage, in failure of *which his further progress with the aid of Government will be stopped.*

There is an extra charge for detention called *bhátá*, amounting after 24 hours to 8 ánás for each pair of bullocks and 2 ánás for a torch-bearer *per diem*. The relays will await the traveller for 3 days, and will then be removed unless he arranges to pay the extra charge to the collector. If he has any complaints to make he must make them afterwards.

The rd. in 1878 was horribly bad[3], covered in many places with huge stones, and intersected with deep water-courses. At Nalapur, which probably has its name from the circumstance, there is a very bad water-course with huge stones and 3 ft. of water. In February, 1878, it took the

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1. From books published on Hampi during the last century.
2. Eastwick Edward: "Murray's Handbook of the Madras Presidency", 2nd edn, London, 1879, (pp. 346-355).
In my opinion, this is practically the first guide to Hampi ruins. I am keen on giving this text to the readers who have no idea of how chivalresque it was to go and visit the ruins in the latter half of the last century.
3. This is the typical "spirit of colonisalists" to criticise India. If the roads were bad it was the fault of the British Government and not India's. British were overlords of India at the time of Eastwick's visit to Bellary and Hampi. British government should have maintained good roads for the sake of "their" tourists.

author more than ½ an hour to cross this obstacle, although 5 men aided the bullocks, which constantly fell on their knees. An expedition by night along this road is not only most fatiguing but by no means without danger. It is impossible to sleep from the violent jolting, and though the vehicle, which travels at the rate of 2 m. an hour, may not be overturned, it will be so broken as to need considerable repairs. There are tigers in the locality but they are not likely to approach the torches. Robbers, however, not unfrequently plunder people in this rd., and have been known even lately to attack the employés of Government. Although the ordinary rate of hire for a pair of bullocks is 2 ánás per m., it has been raised owing to the famine in some of the stages, and will perhaps not return to a lower figure. At Dárají there is a very fine lake and a b., to reach which it is necessary to go off the rd. and climb a steep incline. A tiger killed a man and a woman here in 1878, and was hunted but escaped. The lake is 8 m[1] long and 1 m. broad and ought to be connected with the Tungabhadra r., in which case it would afford a never failing supply of water for irrigation. Snakes and scorpions are very numerous here. The ruins begin at Kamalapur and extend to Hampé, 3½ m. distant to the W.

The t. b. at Kamalapur, or rather beyond it on the outskirts of the ruined city of Bijánagar, is itself an old temple white-washed, with 4 pillars and pilasters supporting stone thwarts. There are 2 small sleeping rooms and a larger one for dining in[2]. Even in February the place is very

1. m. stands for mile. Daraji is modern Dárají and the lake which he mentions is really very big.
2. This T.B was a temple built in typical "Vijayanagara style" probably dedicated to God Narasimha. An addition of an architectural element called "antarālika" built to join the śukanāsi with raṅgamaṇṭapa was a special feature of temples built during the

hot, but in March it becomes insufferable. The first thing to do after arriving is to engage a guide, to whom for 3 days it will be fair to give from 6 to 10 rs., for the fatigue is very great and visitors but few. Immediately on leaving the t. b. the ruins commence, but the first remarkable building is the Ladies' Bath. This is a rectangular building, about ¼ m. from the b., 78 ft. 5 in sq. with a hauz or reservoir in the centre 50 ft. 9 in. sq. and 6 ft. deep, in which fountains played but there is no water now, and this structure has been a good deal injured. At the entrance are remains of the granite aqueduct which was carried from near the throne to the bath. There is now no roof over the reservoir, and perhaps never was any. The corridor of the bath has an arched ceiling, richly carved with flowers. On either side is projecting gallery with 6 windows ornamented with carving, where inmates of the Seraglio sat to see the sisters bathe. The corridor is supported by 20 pillars. Proceeding 10 yds or so to the N.W. of this you pass under a granite acqueduct. The stones forming the trough are 11 ft. 3 in. long and 6 ft. 7. in. broad taking an average of several, and the supports are 5 ft 8 in. high. About 50 yds. N.W. of the Aqueduct is a structure which the guide Barà Sáḥib (so he styles himself) calls *The Throne*.[1]. It is of granite and consists of a succession of platforms, the outer walls of which are carved in relief with representations of elephants, dancing girls, and camels, well executed. You mount 9

Tuluva period between 1510 and 1565. The presence of "antarāḷa or antarālikā" in this so called T.B. makes me think that the edifice was probably built when Tuluva dynasty was ruling over Kamāṭaka.

1. This platform is what is now wrongly known as "Mahānavamidibba" or "Victory House". This is a succession of platforms, as Eastwick says. The outer wall which was covering the inner staircase was removed in 1975 by A S I during the "Vijayanagar resurrection" project. We do not know the reasons for this kind of changes in the old structure.

steps, 15 ft. 6 in. broad to the 1st platform and thence ascend ruined steps, 5 ft. high, to the second platform which is 106 ft. 3 in. from E. to W. and 229 ft. 6 in. from N. to S. The total height of the platform is 31 ft and on the top are the ruins of a structure. There is an inner staircase which leads from the ground to the top of the platforms, and 150 yds. to the W. is an underground passage[1] which is said by the guide to lead to the *Throne*, but it does not seem to have been explored for years. Some yds. to the N.W. of the *throne* is a flight of steps[2] which leads to the top of a structure, where it is said the Rájá sate to see his horses drink milk, and 40. yds to the N. is a stone trough and monolith 42 ft long by 11 ft. 10 in. circumference. The side in which the trough is, is 3 ft. 3 in. broad. To the N. of this about 100 yds. is a temple.[3] The stylobates and the portico is 4 ft. 10 in. high and has 2 pillars and a pilaster on either side. The pillars are 7 ft. 8 in. high and they are handsomely carved in relief with figures of dwarfs, women shooting with bows, &c. The periphery of the pillars is 7 ft. 3 in., and from the entrance of the portico to the entrance into the quadrangle of the temple is 33 ft. 1 in. The quadrangle, inside measurement, is 110 ft. from N. to S. and 200 ft. from E. to W. The temple has a vestibule with 8 outer pillars and a stylobate with 4 short pillars. The Adytum is supported by 4 black pillars most elaborately carved. On the plinth of the 1. gateway is a very long inscription in Old

1. No such passage has been discovered so far in the excavations.
2. Eastwick is now describing the platform which goes by the name as "Audience hall'. Note the exaggeration of the guide. He told the visitor that horses were drinking milk and the king was watching it. This kind of exaggerations, wrong informations have mislead the historians in their research.
3. This is the temple dedicated to God Rāmacandra which is now known as "Hazara Rāma temple".

Kanarese. The stones of which this temple is b. average 7 ft. 7 in. long and 2 ft. 6 in. deep. Here for a m. the debris of great buildings as solid as Newgate cover the ground. The labour of destroying them must have been stupendous and the fatigue of clambering over them is so great that the traveller will probably by the time he gets to the end and night coming on, and be glad to return.

The 2nd day may be spent in crossing the ruins from E. to W. that is from the t.b. to Anagundi, a distance of 4 m. All this extent of ground is covered with the wrecks of granite structures, and on the strange rocks around formed of huge boulders piled one on the other, are seen temples covering them to the very summit. The traveller would do well to mount a pony on this expedition although the ascents and descents are so steep, and being all of rock are so slippery, that it will be necessary to dismount from time to time. The guide points out a spot in the heart of the ruins, about 1 m. from the b., where last year a tiger devoured a man, leaving the hands and the feet. Here you see to the rt. a tall hill crowned with a large temple,[1] to visit which is the labour of a whole day. A little beyond is a water-course with water in Feb. 1878, 2 ft. 6 in. deep, but with such steep banks that a pony will hardly face it. About 1½ m. further to the W. is what the guide calls the oldest temple[2] in Bijanàgar. Little except 2 Gopuras is left. Round the door of

1. This is Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple. Now there is a motorable road. Once on the top, scenic beauty is wonderful. On the top of the hill is a small shrine to Śiva which is supposed to be very old. There is another small peak on which there are some stones carved round like rice balls. According to local people they are rice balls offered by Rāma when he heard that his father Daśaratha passed away.
2. Now the visitor is in one of the remined temples more way to the temple he is going to describe. But, here the description suits well to the temple of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha but it is not the oldest.

the 1st gopura is a very long inscription in Old Kanarese. In the 2nd. there is a Nāgari inscription on the r. and Kanarese on the 1. The base of the pillars are carved to represent a man riding on a yāḷi, which is rearing up. The extensive base around show that the temple to which these gopuras belonged was of great size. Beyond this in the same direction is what is called the *Kasbin bazar*,[1] with a stone arcade on either side. It is 122 ft. broad E. to W. and 1127 ft. long from S. to N. and must have been a most magnificent market place. About 1/4 m. from this you come to a solidly b. temple to Râma, on the bank of a branch of the Tuṅgabhadra, 100 yds. broad and very deep. People bathe here and wash their clothes, but the guide says there are many large alligators, and no doubt accidents often happen. In the adytum of this temple are grotesque modern images of Ráma, Lakshman, Sítá and Hanumán. Ráma stands in the middle with his brother on his rt. and Sítá on his l. At the door are images of Dwárapáls 3 ft. high, of Garuḍa and Hanumán. Opposite the temple is a magnificent tree of the *Ficus indica* species, with a good carving of the Shesh Nág at its foot. This is an excellent

2. The visitor is describing the temple of Veṅgaḷanātah which now goes by the name of "Acyutarāya temple". It is not so much in ruins as the traveller writes. The avenue with arcade on either side was known for a long time as "sooḷebazaar" or "Kasbin bazar" or prostitutes market. No doubt, there were *quartier* residential of prostitutes in Hampi but they were elsewhere and not here. We do not know what was the source for local guides to tell the tourists that this market was reserved for prostitutes. In the inspcriptions this avenue is called "Acyutāpēṭe" which was meant for temple car processions and festivities; probably there was a market too since it was called "pēṭe". In some old maps of A.S.I. this was marked "soolai kazaar" prostitutes market. New, it is reactified.

place for tiffin and rest.[1] The road now turns to the rt. along the r. A vast old *Math* or a monastery is now passed on the rt. which was tenanted by monks till about 40 years ago. About 100 yds. beyond this are the remains of a stone bridge over the Tungabhadra. Beyond this again is a gateway which may have been one of the gates of the fort. It is b. of great granite blocks 10 ft. long, but the stone thwarts which support the roof are still longer, being from 13 to 15 ft. A few yards beyond this you pass under a singular arch of granite, which the guide says was used for weighing goods. It is made of 3 granite blocks, 2 uprights and a transverse piece. The uprights are 20 ft. 10 in. high and the thwart piece 14 ft. 7 in. long.[2] About 1/8 of a m. beyond this is a truly wonderful group of 3 granite temples, which are called the *Bali*, the *Sugríva*, and the *Tárá*, the last named being wife of Bali. It is, however, in reality very doubtful to which deity the temples were dedicated. The very numerous carvings of monkeys in one of the three especially, and more or less in the others, make it probable that they were dedicated to Bali, his brother, and his wife, but some think that the one where the Narasingh Avatár is represented belonged to Vishnu. Mr. Fergusson at p. 374, appears to ascribe the one which the local people refer to

1. This is the temple of Kōdaṇḍarāma on the river bank. Images in the sanctum sanctorum are not modern. They belong to the times of Kamāṭaka kings. These images are carved on a huge rock and the temple is built on it like Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple on the way to Viṭhala temple by road. The tree Ficus indica is still there. It is a very good spot for bathing and now it is crocodile free.

2. This arch is now known as "King's balance" which is again a misnomer. It must have been *dola* or balancoire for swing festivals of gods. To the N.W of it is a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. This is on the way to Viṭhala temple which now the guide will describe.

Bali to Vitoba[1] (or rather Witṭhobá) but he is peculiarly a god of the Maráthas, and according to some his worship was not introduced till the 15th century. His image too, at Paṇḍharpur, his most celebrated shrine, is totally different from any to be seen in the S. of India. The author went carefully over the ruins but never heard the name of Witṭhobá mentioned. The three temples stand in an enclosure which has 4 low gopuras,[2] a stone Rath close to the temple on the rt. as you enter the enclosure, and 2 stone pavilions[3] for loddging travellers. The temple on the rt. is 26 ft. 10 in. sq. There is an inner room with 12 pillars 10 ft. high to the plinth which supports a singularly massive entablature 8 ft. high, on which rests the roof which is very richly carved, and has a large lotus in the centre. The verandah or corridor that surrounds this inner room has 20 pillars each 13 ft. 6 in. high. Beyond this 2nd row of pillars at the top of each flight of steps are 4 more, making 16 in all at the steps, and 48 pillars altogether, reckoning those

1. Eastwick quotes in notes "See also the *Indian Antiquary* vol. ii. p. 178, which gives an extract from Bellary District Manual, by J. Kelsall, M.C.S. which says, "The finest temples of all are about 1m. lower down the river. One dedicated to Viṭhal, a form of Vishṇu, is said to be equal in its architectural detail to anything at Elûra". The author is unable to perceive any points of resemblance between this temple and those at Elûra. Mr. Kelsall adds, p. 292, "In the centre of the Viṭhal temple is the stone car of the god, supported by some stone elephants, and about 30 ft. high". The only stone rath is not in the centre of the temple, but at some distance from it, say 15 yards, and it is 26 ft. 4 in. high. p. 352.n.
2. It is possible that the author got confused between Tiruveṅgalānatha (Acyutarāya) and Viṭhala temple. Former has four gopura-s whereas the latter has three and a vimāna.
3. Eastwick entered the temple from the south gopura. The two pavillions he mentions are a hundred pillared hall built by Kṛṣṇarāya in 1516 and another small pavillion which Paes refers to in his chronicle.

of the inner room, the corridor and the steps. The pavement in the centre, consisting of immense granite slabs, has been torn up, no doubt in search of treasure. The steps are 5 ft. high, and the roof has a projecting sloping eave about 3 ft. broad. The pillars are magnificently carved with representations of men riding on yális. The pillars, many of them, have bracket shafts. The stone Rath which stand a few paces from the temple just described, is 26 ft. 4 in. high. From the bottom of the wheel as it rests on the ground to the flooring of the car is 6 ft. 8 in., and the interior of the carriage is 7 ft. high. From the roof of the carriage inside to the top of the ornamental canopy is 12 ft. 8 in. total 26 ft. 4 in. The diameter of the wheels is 4 ft. 3 in. Whether the Rath was ever moved is doubtful. The wheels can be moved, and the sockets in which the axle works are worn and chafed as if by movement.

The 2nd temple, which is on the centre of the enclosure is much the largest, and perhaps the finest. The ceiling was formed of slabs of granite 35 ft. long, but all the slabs have been thrown down except the one in the centre. Two slabs stand against the wall, and are 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and 2 ft. thick. In the centre of the ceiling (so it appears from what remains on the centre slab) there is an ornament representing birds and flowers, apparently the Chakor and the Lotus. These have been painted blue and other colours. There are 14 columns, which supported the roof. Most of them are carved into representations of horsemen mounted on yális. One represents the Narsingh Avatár. In some cases the yális are supported by elephants. The pavement consists of huge granite slabs. One is 12 ft. 7. in. long, and 7 ft. 6 in. broad, and the others are about that size. There is an outer row of 28 pillars, and at each flight of steps 4 more, making 16 altogether 58. Within is a court 100 ft. long from E. to W. and 62 ft. broad from N. to S. The Vimánah

is 7 ft. 8 in. sq. This temple is thought by some to have been sacred to Vishnu, and the representation of the Narsingh Avatár makes this probable. On the S. side are numerous Kanarese inscriptions. S. of the temple is a Dharamshal with 62 pillars, on which are curious reliefs of female monkeys and dwarfs, so this may be the Tárá temple. On the rt. of the entrance is a platform with 39 shorter pillars. These were carved with most curious representations of monkeys, their heads crowned with two small figures of gods. The 3rd temple is some 20 yds. N. of the Rath. It is 30 ft. long from E. to W. and 28 ft. 9 in. from N. to S. From the steps at the entrance, including the porch, is 52 ft. It is probably sacred to Bali and Sugriva. It has 38 pillars[1].

From this the traveller may go 1¼ m. to the E. to the bank of Tungabhadra opposite Anagundi. There is a large tree[2] which affords some shelter from the sun while waiting for the ferry boats, which are circular baskets covered with bullock hides and 10 ft. a diameter. They will each take 20 persons or a pálki with 12 beareres. The r. on the 11th Febr. 1878 was here 50 yds. broad, and 5 fathomes deep. At this period of the year it flows in deep pools, with little or no flow of water between them. The boats are safe but inconvenient. There are some inches of water at the bottom of the basket, and the passengers sit on the edge or rim, where it is quite easy to topple over. There are sharp snags on the rim of the basket which would prick you

1. Our visitor describes one of the most beautiful temples of Vijayanagara dedicated to God Viṭhala another form of Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu in 1878. He has made a mistake by calling it the temple to Ba(Vā)li, Sugrīva and Tārā. By and large, his observations are correct and if anybody wants to verify his measurements he can do it with our monograph on Vijayanagara and Viṭhala temple.
2. This is Tālārighaṭṭa where one can cross the river in boat as described by Paes in 1522 and Eastwick in 1878. There is an old banyan tree and some arcades which provide shelter to visitors.

unless you put a stout cloth under you. The bed of the r. and its sides are very rocky. As soon as you land on the other side you are in the Nizam's dominions. On the Anagundi side 30 yds. from the landing place, there is a small temple to Ganesh, sheltered under a tree, and 10 yds further on is a gate of Anagundi which has been a fort b. of granite. The palace of the Rájá of Anagundi, who is also Rájá of Bijanagar, is 1/3 m. from the gate. It is a square house of very massive construction. Beyond this ¼ m. is a Shiva temple overlooking the r., which is there very shallow, trickling over a sheet of rock. The people bathe here and wash their clothes without dread of the alligator.[1]

The 3rd day may be devoted to a visit to a Pagoda on the high hill to the S.W. of the Kasbin Bázár. The traveller will come to within a few hundred yards W. of that Bázár and will reach the foot of the hill in about an hour. The ascent is excessively steep, and the pagoda, which is sacred to Markand, is unimportant, but the view over the ruins is one that will repay the visitor for his fatigue.[2] The

1. This must be what is now known as Cintāmaṇimaṭha. The temple and the maṭha overlook the river. One of the spots worth visiting. From here onwards, a few lines are not quite visible in my photocopy text and as I don't have the original with me, I have skipped over a few lines about the tiger hunting.
2. The tourist is now describing the way to Mātanga hill and the steps leading to the top. It was really chivalrous in his days to climb up this hill if one takes into consideration the savage state of the site. Now, one can go to the top of the hill from Southern side after following the main canal for a while towards East and then a deviation to reach the foot of the hill. Here are very comfortable flight of steps of the historical period to go up. And, then to climb down the hill one can follow the itenary of Eastwick. Then the visitor will be landing near Vengaḷanātha (Acyutarāya) temple. To the East there is one more way to reach the summit of the hill but it

Tungabhadra is seen flowing on the W., with high granite hills in the distance, to the W. S. of the ruins is seen a broad rd. which leads from t. b. down to the Tungabhadra. Beyond this rd. and S. of it, is a line of fortifications, the granite wall of which, about 18 ft. high, has been in many places thrown down. Although the ruins are piled in almost undistinguishable masses, still the course of two principal streets parallel to the river can be indistinctly traced.

The 4th day must be given to the S. quarter of the ruins, and Hampé, and here a pálki or a pony may be used. The traveller will leave the b. at dawn and go W. by a good broad rd., which is about 3 m. S. of the N. rd, and most of the ruins lie between the two. In about 10 minutes an octagonal *chávaḍi* is reached. It has a corridor running round an inner room about 12 ft. in diameter, in very fair preservation. A m. beyond this you come to an ancient temple of Shiva, attested by a figure of Nandi and carvings of cobras. Beyond this 100 yds and close to the rd. is a gigantic image of Narasingha Avatár, carved out of a single block of granite. The figure is that of a colossal lion-headed man with enormous projecting circular eyes and a huge mouth. A spirited carving of the Shésh Nág, forms the canopy of the idol, which is seated, and has its legs and arms broken. From the top of the Shésh Nág to the floor of the pedestal on which the idol sits is 22 ft. 6 in. The height of the pedestal above the ground is 2 ft. 6 in. The circumference of the idol 6 in. above the waist is 14 ft. 8 in. The total breadth, including side supports, is 20 ft. 4 in. The girth of the arm above the elbow is 8 ft. 6 in. This idol is in an enclosure of ponderous granite blocks. The monolithic

is too steep and difficult. However, it is worth climbing this hill, we can have full confidence in Eastwick's words because the fatigue is well recompensted once we are on the summit of it.

uprights at the door at 18 ft. 8 in. high out of the ground. Just outside the gate is an upright stone with a Kanarese inscription on both sides. A few yards to the W. of this enclosure is a small temple containing a pillar 4 ft. high and 11 ft. 2 in. round. This is the Lingam, and it is embedded in a Yoni, the circumference of which is 36 ft. This is no doubt the largest representative of these objects of worship existing[1].

About 60 yds. to the W. is a vast temple to Krishṇa. It is enclosed in a granite wall 12 ft. high with a masonry coping 3 ft. high, so that total height of the wall is 15 ft. The breadth of the chief court is 200 ft. from N. to S. and the length 320 ft. E. to W. A granite gopura leads into it. At the entrance of the temple is a stone 8 ft. high with a Kanarese inscription on both sides. There is on the columns of the Gopura an inscription in Nágari and Kanarese.[2] The pavement in the centre of the temple has been torn up in search of treasure. The roof of the temple is supported by 6 rows of pillars, and in the porch are 36 pillars and 4 at the steps.

1. The two temples he is referring to are "Lakṣminarasiṃha" more popularly known as "Ugranarasiṃha" and next to it a small shrine to Śiva called "Baḍavi Liṅga". What is to be noted here is that Eastwick does not mention either the shrine of Narasimha open to the sky or the Linga in water. Now the former is open to the sky and the latter is always in water.

2. The two inscriptions mentioned by Eastwick on the wall of Kṛṣṇa temple gopura belong to the regnal period of King Acyutarāya. In fact both the records mention the same event, the king making a grant of Ānandanidhi. The text is in Sanskrit but one copy is in Kannaḍa characters and the other in Nāgarī. After giving a brief description of the temple the author proceeds to visit two famous temples of Gaṇēśa namely Sāsivakāḷu and Kaḍalekāḷu. Nobody knows the origin for these appellations, and however these namings are not historical. No documents are at our disposal to attest their dates or their patrons. The author of the guide proceeds from here to Virūpākṣa temple the oldest part of Hampi.

Other two parts of the temple are so much ruined and defaced as not to admit of distinct description. Leaving this temple and proceeding about 50 yds. to the W. one finds on the l. of the rd. a temple with a huge Gaṇesh 10 ft. high. A few yds farther on towards the W. is a vastly solid granite temple to Ganesh, in which the idol is 18 ft. high. The visitor will remark the size of the enormous granite slabs which form the roof. After passing this temple, the precincts of what is now called Hampé are entered, and monkeys of *Langúr* kind, but not large, here show themselves in considerable numbers. The visitor will now descend for 70 yds. a granite pavement[1] cut into many small steps, and pass on the l. a square building which may have been a *Maṭh*. He will then come under the shade of some gigantic trees and arrive at the portal of the great temple of Hampé, which is sacred to Shiva. The Gopura at the N. entrance is truly gigantic, and taken in all its dimensions is perhaps the largest in India. It is impossible to ascend beyond the 11th storey, but from the basement of that to the ground the height is 133 ft. 5 in., and above it there is a solid masonry for 30 or 40 ft. After that comes the *Shikr*, which is now broken, but must have been about 30 ft. high, so that when it was intact the total height must have been over 200 ft. The Gopura is 85 ft. thick from E. to W., and you pass under it for that distance from N. to S.; the arch is immensely solid. The length of the first quadrangle from E. to W. is 208 ft. 4 in., and its breadth from N. to S. 134 ft. The 2nd quadrangle is larger, and has arcades all round built of granite. The authorities of the temple will not allow a European to go farther than a few steps beyond the 2nd

1. This is the granite pavement road and steps on the way to Virūpākṣa from Kaḍakekālu Gaṇēśa temple; but no trees are there now. Probably Hémakūṭa appeared to him as a Maṭha. It is likely that he did not enter there.

gopura, under which is the entrance to this 2nd quadrangle nor will they permit any closer examination of the building. The chief Pujári, or minister of the temple, says that it is sacred to Pampápati or Shiva, the Lord of Pampá or Párvati. He shows a copy of an inscription which is on a stone on the entrance to the Vimána. It says that Krishṇa Ráyalu built the great gopura and other parts of the temple in 1430, of the era of Shálivâhan. There are 2 other gopuras one to the E. and one to the W., but the middle one, that on the N. is the most remarkable from its vast size[1]. From this point the visitor may turn in a S.E. direction, and after a walk of 2 m. he will reach a building which is called the Zanánah. The outer wall is about 20 ft. high, and built entirely of granite. The buildings within have for the most part been thrown down. On the l. of the entrance to the N.E. corner of the enclosure there is what is called the T'alim Khânah or gymnasium, where the guide tells that the young princes were taught to fight and wrestle. The arena is 69 ft. 8 in. long and 17 ft. 8 in. broad and the raised place, where the spectators sat which goes round the arena[2], is

1. Our visitor is now trying to describe the Virūpākṣa temple complex but I think he is confused with the measurements of some other shrines. First of all there is no such big gopura to the west in Virūpākṣa temple. There was one but later it was converted into a small shrine to house a Liṅga during the days of King Acyutarāya. Now in its place we see a modern image of Vidyāranya. Probably, Eastwick mentions often the Northern gopura because it was repaired by a British collector Mr. F.W. Robertson in 1837. (See *Bellary gazetter*, 1904, p. 274). The big gopura to the East is not so high as he says. It has only nine storeys and the height is 52 metres. (according to *Hampi* by Devakunjari, p. 53). May be, the confusion is due to his interdiction to enter inside.

2. According to local people this was the gymnasium for Kumāra Rāma a young prince of Kummaṭadurga who is known for his bravery. (Readers will find this matter in some old guides to Hampi in Kannaḍa written in late forties or early fifties.) In north

8 ft. 2 in. broad. The total length of the building, therefore, inside measurement, is 86 ft. At the corners of the enclosure in which this building is there have been towers, and 2 remain. At the S.W. corner of the enclosure is a building which was probably a pavilion for the ladies. It has been covered with fine white cement. Close by it is a door, beyond which are many ruins and a temple to Hanumán, with a very spirited relief of the Monkey-god. E. of the Zanánah are the elephant stables, a long row of buildings with cupolas, something like pagodas. S. of the Zenánah at the distance of 150 yds., is a monolithic and subterraneous temple or house. The room in the centre is 11 ft. 7 in. long by 5 ft. 10 in. broad, and 6 ft. 10 in. high. An inner room is rather larger, and the vestibule is rather smaller. In order to examine the ruins of Bijánagar thoroughly covering as

Kamāṭaka (old Bombay Kamāṭaka) there are some chambers built over deep pits for learning the art of wrestling. Architecturally how far this building suits for this purpose, I do not know.

There are not two but three towers which are wrongly designated as "watch-towers". But, they were probably used as "*Maison de plaisance*" or "Villa" where members of the royal family would come to see and enjoy the beauty of their town. The architecture of these towers, large at the top floor with large windows for the circulation of air and light make us to think that they were not watch towers but pleasure towers.

The other monument he describes is "Lotus Mahal". From where the name comes is not known. See Pae's description of the palace. Then Eastwick describes elephant stables. Many differences of opinion were prevailing with regard to the function of this building. But, a recent discovery of an inscription confirms that this was an elephant stable. Eastwick then describes the temples of "Mādhava" and probably "Raṅganātha" where there is a huge statue of Hanuman kept slanting on a wall. Then he describes a subterraneous temple now known as "Paṭṭaṇada Ellamma" shrine. This is one of the earliest temples of Hampi and is in later Cālukyan style. And in most of the so called "later Cālukya styled" temples one of them is often subterraneous like this one.

they do more than 9 sq. m. a visitor aught to stop a month. A plan of the ruins is a great desideratum, and it can only be taken in December or January, for the reflection of the sun from the granite rocks and buildings is most trying.

It is surprising that no attempt is made to bring inhabitants to the place, where is an ever-abundant supply of water from the Tungabhadra river, and when irrigated the land around yields good crops. Then cut stones for buildings are to be had to any extent, and in fact, with a very small amount of labour hundreds of good substantial houses might be prepared in a few weeks. The ancient and most beautiful temples would certainly attract Hindus to reside in the locality; and government to make Bijánagar the headquarters of a native Commissioner, and give other encouragement to immigrants, it hardly admits a doubt that the town would to some extent recover from the ruins which has overwhelmed it for three centuries[1].

1. Thank God, Eastwick's suggestion of rehabilitation of the site was oversighted by the British Government. Otherwise, by now the whole site would have been lost to the historians with disfiguration and devoid of charm of an ancient capital. Already, many historians lament that the site is loosing its charm and importance due to modern constructions like Jaina maṭha near Mātaṅga hill, some restorations which are beyond norms etc. I am seeing Hampi since 1962-63 and changes there. I hope that the coming generations will retain the site of Hampi-Vijayanagar as it is and not as it should be.

OF THE SITE AND REMAINS OF THE CITY OF BEEJANUGGUR[1]

The remains of this city have been visited by an English officer (Lieut. emmit) so lately as November last. They are situated on the south bank of Toombuddra[2] River, directly opposite to Annagoondy[3], which lies about two miles from the north bank; and is at present the principal town of a small district of the same name; the one being the Jaghir (or estate), the other the place of residence of the descendant of the ancient kings of Beejanuggur,[4] who about two centuries ago, ruled the great part, if not the whole peninsula; under the title of the empire or kingdom of CANHARA[5]. The following is Mr. Emmit's account.

"On the N W side of Comlapour fort, distant half a mile, there are a great number of rugged hills covered with pagodas, which have once been very beautiful. This place has been inclosed in strong stone walls on the E side, and bounded by the river on the W. The circumference of the

1. *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, by* James Rennell, London MDCCXCII, The second edition, Section IV, p. 40-43.
"In the Memoir of Map of Hindoostan, this name is corruptly written Bijinagur. Beejanug-gur, is Captain Kirkpatrick's orthography of it, and Beejanagur, that of the View of the Deccan. In Caesar Frederick, and in most of our Histories, it is written Bisnagar". From Rennell's notes.
2. River Tuṅgabhadrā or Tuṃgabhadrā.
3. Anegondi or Ānegumdi.
4. Vijayanagar.
5. Kannaḍa or Karnāṭaka. Note the 18th century another says that the empire was called conhara Karnataka.

whole, appears to be about 8 miles, though I was told much more. Betwixt the immense piles of rocks crowned with pagodas, I traced several streets from 30 to 45 yards wide; some of them are now producing fine rice[1]. There is one street which remains pretty perfect; it is near the S W angle. It extends about N E and S W half a mile; and is about 35 yards broad; having colonnades of stone on each side, and a very large pagoda at the S W end, in perfect repair[2]. On the west side of this street, there is a large mango grove, which is bounded by the Toombuddra. There are a number of streams through these ruins, that have formerly been employed to fill a great number of canals, the remains of which, appear all over this once delightful place. I enquired of a number of people, the name of this place; all of whom told me it was called ALLPUTNA[3]. The river at one place, at the foot of these ruins, is only 16 yards wide; below which there has been a strong bridge".

"Comlapour is surrounded with hills. After leaving Comlapour, the road winds betwixst high hills; and in many places leads over considerable heights, the ascents and descents of which are paved with large stones[4]. The road continues for 8 ½ miles from Comlapour; where it enters betwixst two hills, and not more than 8 feet wide, paved with stones. Here are remains of a stone gateway, and a

1. Note that already in the eighteenth century many old temple streets were converted into rice fields.
2. Virūpākṣa temple and its car street.
3. Alluputna or Awlputtan stand for "Haḷepaṭṭaṇa" which means "old town" in Kannaḍa. For a long time Hampi was called Haḷepaṭṭaṇa in opposition to Hosapēṭe or New-market i.e. modern Hospet which is about 14 kms from Hampi.
4. This is an ancient road to Viṭhala temple. After piercing the modern tar road to Viṭhala temple nobody dares to go by this road now. But, it is worthwhile to venture to escalade the road in ruins.

watch-house, on the top of a hill, on the east of the road. After leaving the narrow road the country opens, & c''

According to my friend Capt. Kirkpatrick Allupatna, or Awlputtan, as he finds it written in the Persian character, is the same with Beejanuggur : but it appears odd that the people on the spot should not call it by its original Hindoo name. As Capt. Beatson, two years before Mr. Emmit wrote, had on the authority of the natives, placed Beejanuggur in the same situation as Awluputtan falls, by Mr. Emmit's observations, there can be no doubt but that the ruins found by the latter, are those of Beejanuggur; besides which, we have the authority of the author of the View of the Deccan, for its being centrical to the district of annagoondy. [View of the Deccan, page 14]

We learn from Caesar Frederick, who visited Beejanuggur in 1565, that it had a circuit of 24 miles; and that it contained within it, a number of hills and pagodas which were supposed by Mr. Emmit to be situated beyond the boundary of the ancient city, as well as the paved road leading from Comlapour to the pass; appear to have been within the boundary; and the gate itself, was probably one of the gates of the city.

I conceive that the reason of Tippoo's wishing to retain the circar of Annagoondy, instead of giving it up to Nizam or the Mahrattas, in common with the rest of the lands in the Doab, was for the accomodation of the descendant of the ancient kings of Beejanuggur; whose present narrow domain consists of the above circar which includes the site, and scanty remains of the ancient capital. As we ought ever to suppose a good motive whilst appearances warrant it, Tippoo deserves great credit for his conduct on this occasion. To explain my meaning more fully, I shall transcribe a passage from the *View of the Deccan*, published in 1791; and long before the event of the late war could be foreseen.

"Annagoondy claims notice rather from commiseration to the circumstances of its owner, than any political consequence it can be of, in the scale of Tippoo's power. This petty principality, which scarcely extends 20 miles around the spacious ruins of the famed city of Bejenagar, once the capital of the Hindoo empire of the same name, comprehending all the countries south of the Kistnah, is the wretched remains and inheritance of dominion, left to the lineal descendant of Ramraje, the last great monarch of the Canarine and Malabar nations, united 700 hundred years before, under the rule of Kishendeo. The representatives of the family, like the ranas of Oudeypour in Hindostan, lost with their dominions, the superior designation of Maharajah or Rajah; and have for a century past, been distinguished in the Deccan generally by the title of *Rayeel*. They are said still to keep an exact register of the revolutions which happen within the circle of their former empire; in the vain hope of being reinstated in their ancient rights, though now reduced to a territorial income of about two and half lacks of rupees, inclusive of the regalities of a mint at Annagoondy; and which they are suffered to enjoy through the compassionate bounty or policy of Hyder and his successor, than to hold with absolute independence in their own power. Trifling however, as their revenue is, and how little the merit of the Mysorean's conduct, it is more than they could expect from the exterminating system of the Moghul and his delegates, or from the avaricious principles and national hatred of the Mahrattas, if they had the misfortune of falling within the grasp either of these governments"[1].

1. Though, Tipu Sultan made efforts to save the Rājas of Ānegondi local people accuse him of being responsible for the mutilation of human figures and muzzles of Nandins. I do not know who was responsible for making Tipu a culprit?

Names and Towns Frequently Mentioned in the Text.

(C: chieftain; cap. Capital. d: division; k: king; p: place; q: queen; s: sultan;)

Acadacão-Asadkhan (s)
Achetarao, Achitarao, Chetarao, Chitarao-Acyutarāya, Achyutarāya (k)
Ajaboissa: Ajja Basappa (c)
Ajanaique : Ajjappanāyaka (c)
Ajaparcatimapa
Ajaráo—Vijayarāya (k)
Allupatna, ALLPUTNA—Haḷepaṭṭaṇa i.e. Haṃpi, (p)
Anagundi, Annagoondy, Nagumdi, Nagundy, Nagumdym, Senagundy—Ānegundi or Ānegomdi (p)
Beejanuggar, Beejanuggur, Bejenagar, Bezenagar, Bisnāga, Bisnagua Bysnaga, Vijayanagar (cap)
Bilal Dew—Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III (k)
Bilgao, Billgao, Bigolam—Belgaum (t)
Bucarao—Bukka—(k)
Busbalrao—Bhujabala Narasimha (k)
Canarese, Canarijis, Canarine, CANHARA—Kannaḍa, Karnāṭaka
Chaul, Chaull, Chiavul—Chavul
Chinadividy—Cinnadēvi (q)
Comdamara—Koṇḍamarasa (c)
Comdepally—Koṇḍapalli, Koṃḍapalli (t)
Comdovy, Conadolgi, Condovim—Koṇḍavīḍu (t)
Comlapour—Kamalāpura, Kāmalāpura (p)
Cotamaluc, Cotamuloco—Kutubshah (s)
Crisnapor—Kṛṣṇāpura (p)
Crisnaranarque, Crsnayque—Kṛṣṇappanāyaka (c)
Crisarao, Crisnarão, Kishendeo—Kṛṣṇarāya (k)
Culbergura, Calbergara—Gulbarga, Kallubarige (cp)
Cumarvirya, Cumarberya—Kumāra Vīrayya (c)
Daquem, Daquym Dakhan—Deccan
Dárajī, Darguem—Dārōji (p)
Deharao, Deorao, Deorai—Devaraya or Devarāya (e, k)
Destur virido, Descar, Virido, Viridy—Barid Shah of Bīdar
Digary, Hudogary—Udayagiri (p)
Entarem—Antāpura (p)
Enybiquymelly, Melinebiquy, Meliquy niby, Mallik Naib—Malik Naib (c)
Gamdarajo, Gamdarja, Ogemdraho—Govindarāja, Gōviṃdarāja (c)
Madanarque—Mādappa Nāyaka (c)
Madarmeluquo—Mallukhan
Madremalluco—Imad-ul-Mulk

Mudgal, Mudugal, Mumdoguel—Mudgal (p)
Nagallapor—Nāgalāpura (p)
Nagapatão—Nāgapaṭṭaṇa (p)
Narsenaque, Narsenayaque, Narsenayque—Narasā or Narasaṇa nāyaka (k)
Narsing, Narsinga, Narsingha, Narsymga, Narsymgua, Narsynga, Narsyngua—'Sāluva Narasimha (k)
Penagumdim Penagumdy, Penagundy, Penamgudy—Penugoṇḍe (p)
Pureoyre Deorao—Harlahara Devarāya i.e. Harihara II (k)
Rachol, Rrachol—Raicūr or Raichūr (p)
Ramaragio, Ramraje—Rāmarāya (Aliya).
Salabatacão, Salabetacao—Salabat Khan (c)
Sallvatinica, Salvatinea, Salvatinia, Salvatinica, Salvatinya—Sāḷuva Tiṃma (m)
Salvanay, Salvatimya—Sāḷuva nāyaka (m)
Tamgor, Tañcal—Tanjore in Tamilnāḍu
Timapanarque, Timapanayque—Uddi Timmappanāyaka (c)
Temeragio, Temiragio—Timmarāja-brother of Aliya Rāmarāya.
Temersea-Same as Sāluva Timma-minister of King Kṛṣṇarāya.
Toombuddra—Tuṅgabhadrā, Tuṃgabhadrā (r)
Vydiajuna—Vidyāraṇya (The Sage)
Wurungole—Orugal, Warangal
Ydalcão, Ydallcão, Idalcao, Idallcao—Adilkhan of Bijapur (s)
Zamaluc, Zemelluco—Niza-ul-Mulk (s)
Zambuja-Jambūr (p)

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INDEX

Abdur Razak, Abdur Razzak, Abdú-r-Razzak, 2, 40, 280
Abhinava Vijayanagara *see* Vijaya Virupaksa Hosapattana
Acadacao, 180, 198-201-02
Achetarao, Achitarao *see* Acyutaraya
Acyutabhudaya, 50
Acyutabhupalivina, 50
Acyutapete, 50
Acyutapura, 50, 65
Acyutaraya, Achyuta Raya, 39*n*, 44, 49-51, 120*n*, 147-48, 214-16, 218, 223
Adapanayque, 163, 239
Adargueiros, 174, 220, 231
Adeem, 141
Agrahara 30, 40
Ajaboissa, 207
Ajanaique, Ajjappanayaka, 220
Ajaparcatimapa, 236
Ajarao *see* Vijayaraya
Ala-ud-din Khilji, 9
Alau-d-din Ahmad Shah, 277
alcaid, 220
Alepo, 318
Alexandria, 301
Aliya, 27
Aliya Ballappa *see* Ballappa dannayaka
Aliya Ramaraya *see* Ramaraya
Aliya Soinayakya *see* Sayyanayaka
Allasani Peddana, 47
Allupatna, Allputna, 349
Almuhurdar, 24
Aloes-wood, 94, 118, 301
a maneyra de lamines, 118
Amcostam, 174
Anagundi, 12, 15, 31, 335, 340-41, 348, 350-51 *see also* Nagumdym
Anantasayana, 49
Ancola, 59, 327
Andhra, Andhrapradesh, 4, 22-23, 25, 51
Anegomdi *see* Anagundi
Anegondi Vithapa, 25, 31
Anjediva, 292, 298
Anjil, 258
Annagoondy *see* Anagundi
Annamacarya, 48
Antarala, 46
Aoperadianar, 85
Aosel, 238
Aqueduct, 333
Arabia, 268, 330
Arabian Horses, 318-19, 328
Arabs, 232
Aravattige, 36
Aravidu, 51-52
Architrave, 117
Ardegeme, 120
Armenia, 318
Armesine of Portugall, 328
Arunagirinathar, 41
Aspergh, 329
Avaly, 239
Awlputtan *see* Allupatna
Azha, 282

Babylon, 318

Bacanor, 59, 224, 293, 295
Bagdet, 318
Bahamani, 189; Empire, split of, 46
Baira Vera, 295
Bajapanarque, Bajapanayque, 238, 240
bajuris, 234
Balakrsna, 45
Ballala III, 7, 9-11, 13-15, 18, 26-28
Ballala IV, 10, 14, 17-19
Ballagate, 62, 122
Ballappadannayaka, 27, 30
Bandana, 254
Barakur, 30
Barid Shahi, 46
Barrowes, 326
Basora, 318
Basrur, 293
Batacalla, Batecala, Batecalla, Bathacala, 59-60, 62, 224, 290, 293-95; battlements, 98, 174, 176, 181-82
Baudhayanasutra, 17, 19
bayaderes, 95, 102
Bayakara Ramappa *see* Ramayamatya
bazars, 259
Beatson, Capt, 350
Beder *see* Bidar
Beeja, 14
Beejanuggar, Beejanuggur, Bejenagar see Bijanagar
Beeje, 10
beledi, 249
Belgaum, 180, 198, 201, 208-09, 215
Bellari, 331
Bengalla *see* Bengal
Bemmattanakallu *see* Citradurga
Bengal, 62, 122, 133, 256, 297, 299
Bengapor, 164, 224
Bengatre, 320
benua Quilim, 297
betel, 213, 268-69, 277
Bezeneger, Bezenneger *see* Vijayanagar
bhakti movements, 47-48
Bharadvajagotra, 17, 20*n*, 35
Bharatitirtha, 21
Bhatkal see Batacalla,
Bhoganatha, 17, 19
Bhoja, 37
Bhujabala Narasimha, 44-45, 147-50, 206*n*, 214
Bhusbalrao, *see* Bhujabala Narasimha
Bhuvanaikavira, 43
Bhuvaneswvari, 16
Bichenegher *see* Vijayanagar
Bidar, 46, 284
Bidjanagar *see* Bijanagar
Bidrur, 254-55
Bigapor see Bijapur
Bigolom, 237
Bijanagar, 14, 252-54, 262-64, 266-69, 284, 331-32, 335, 341; brothels, 265-66, King of, attempt on life, 269-72; mahanawi celebration, 272; seven surrounding fortifications, 256-62; temples, 255-56 *see also* Vijayanagar
Bijapur, 197-98; sultan of, 46, 53
Bilal Dew *see* Ballala IV
Bilgao, Billgao *see* Belgaum
Bir, 318
Bisinegar, *see* Vijayanagar
Bisjanagar *see* Vijayanagar
Bisnaga, Bisnagua, 3-4, 57, 65-66, 76-77, 88, 108-09, 119-20, 132-50, 153, 155, 157-58, 162-63, 166, 170, 182, 191, 196, 198, 200, 208-09, 215, 224-25 238, 240, 242-43, 300, 329-30; revenues of, 109, 208-09, 125

Bisnaga, King of, 58, 71, 121-23, 127, 130, 154, 160, 203
Bizapor *see* Bijapur
Bizenegalia *see* Vijayanagar
boats, 84, 119, 122-23, 340
Bodial, 238
Bologna, 2
Bomgrain, 236
Bracalor, 59
braccia, 286
Brahmaksatriya, 34
Brahman, Brahmins, Bramenes, 20, 40, 42, 68-69, 73, 86, 88, 92-95, 97, 100, 102, 108, 116, 138, 166, 170, 207, 230, 240, 242-44, 257, 267, 272, 288, 295, 311; ceremonies on death, 246-48; Lingayats, 311-17
brothels, 265-66
Bucarao *see* Bukka I
Busbalrao *see* Bhujabala Narasimha
Bukka I, 11, 18, 20-21, 24-26, 28-33, 133
Bukka II, 35, 134*n*
Bukkaraya *see* Bukka I
Bumbast, 328
Bysnaga *see* Bisnaga

cabaya, 16, 74, 76
cabo de comary see Cape Comorin
cage, 106
Caesar Frederick, Caesar Fredericke, 53, 318, 350
Caicolone, 290
Caizar, 294
Calbergara *see* Gulbarga
Calecu, 224, 239
Calicut, 254, 269, 288, 290-91
caloees, 76
Camanayque, 163, 166
Cambay, Cambaya, 62, 121-22, 295, 306
Camdegary, Chamdegary, Candragiri, Chandragiri, 214-15
Campos, 123
Canhara, 348
Canonor, 286, 289-90
Cape Comorin, 1, 236
Capogatto, 290
Captains, 89-90, 93-94, 96-99, 103, 107-10, 112, 121, 126-27, 129, 136-39, 142-45, 152-54, 157, 163, 166-67, 169, 176-77, 181, 184-86, 194, 198, 205-06, 209, 215-16, 219, 222-24, 240, 245, 295, 315, 319-20.
Carnatic wars, 5
cas, 289
casa, 91
castles, 99, 178, 226-27, 324
Catiya, 15
Catuir, 156
Caullim, 236
Ceilam, 301
Ceillao, Ceyllao, Ceylon, 34, 134-35, 236, 265, 271
Chakor, 339
Chambers, 113
Chaodagary, Chaodegary, 145, 150
Charamandell, Charamaodel *see* Choromandel
Chaul, Chaull, 134, 138, 294
Chavadi, 342
Chetarao, Chitarao, Chytarao *see* Acyutaraya
Chetti, 294
Chiavul, 290
Chihal-sutun, 260
Chinadevity, 209
Chinapanaique, Chinapanayque, 220
Choromandel, 62, 134, 156, 296-97

Christians, 287, 289, 301
Christovao de Figueiredo, 57, 75-76, 80, 91, 112, 182-87
Cidaota, 236
Cide Mercar, 160-61
Cikkaraya, 135-36; death, 136-37
Cinzeyr, 86
Citradurga, 27-28, 39
Cochin, 238, 290
Codegaral, 236
Codemerade, 144*n*, 206
Cofos, 104
Cojatar, 294
Colae, 328
Collaes, 101
Collars, 98, 101, 267
Colon *see* Quilon
Comara, 163
Comarberca, Comarberya, *see* Cumarvirya
Comdamara, 163
Comdepally *see* Kondapalli
Comdovy *see* Kondaividu
Comen da estrebarya, 222
Comlapour, 332, 348-50
Conadolgi, 141
Condovim, 236
Corpo de Dios, 99, 106
Corredor, 90
Cotamaluc, Cotamuloco *see* Qutb Shah
Cotton, 60, 90, 237, 239
Culaes, 234
Coullao *see* Quilon
Courtezan, 71-72, 209, 265
Couto, 3-4
Crisnapanayque *see* Krsnarao
Crisnapor *see* Krsnapura
Crisnaranarque *see* Krsnarao
Crisnarao, Crinarao *see* Krsnarao
Crisnarao Macagao *see* Krsnarao
Cruzados, 234, 306
Crynamata, 123
Cucin, 234
Culbergura *See* Gulbarga
Cumarvirya, 96, 164, 175

Dabul, Da bull, 134, 138, 160-61, 290
Dacanis *see* Deccan
Dakhan, see Deaccan
Damasak, Damaskes, 104, 267, 329
Damj, 294
Danaik, Danayque, 206, 261, 271, 277-79
Dancing-girls/women, 88, 90, 92, 95-96, 98-99, 115-16, 118, 226, 230, 232, 333
Dapatao, 236
Daquem, Daquym *see* Deccan
Daraji, 332
Darcha, 63-65
Darguem, 238
Dasaratha, 44, 335*n*
Dati Singeyanayaka, 27
Dati Someyadanayaka, 27
Daulatabad, 14
Deccan, 13, 197, 189-90, 202-03, 292, 295, 297-98, 301, 314, 350-51; Kingdom of, 53-54, 62, 66; sultans of, 51
Defremery, 24
Dehorao *see* Devaraya
Delhi, Delly, Dely, 9, 23; King of, 121-25; Sultans, 9
Demellyno, 161
Deo Rai, Deorao *see* Devaraya I
Deparaja, 25
Descar, 190
Desturvirido, 162
Destuy, 189
Devaraya, 131, 135, 277-78
Devaraya I, 35-36, 41, 270*n*
Devaraya II, 2, 37-38, 40-41
Devayi, 31

Devil, 288
Dharamshal, 340
Dialcan, 319
Diamants, 324
Digary *see* Udaygiri
Diguoty, 238
Dindima, 50
Divine Benevolence, 281
Diwan-khana, 260
Doab, 350
Dolotsava, 52
Dom Gueterre, 174
Domaar, Domar, 164, 166
Domingos Paes, 57
Doublets, 164
Dowlutabad see Daulatabad
Dromedaries, 286
Ducat, Ducats, 288, 290, 328
Durate Barbosa, 300, 311
Duree, 122
Dvaita, 47
Dvarasamudra, Dwar-Samoodra, 9, 14

East parts, 43
elephants, mode of catching, 262-65
elephant stable, 231, 346
emirs, 24
Emmit, 348, 350
Entarem, 238
Enybiqumelly, 127
erimgapatao *see* Srirangapatanam
Europe, 120*n*, 255-56
European, 3-4
Evangelist, 224

fair, 80
Falchini, 326-27
fanam, fanom, 83, 167, 261, 265-68, 277, 279, 289
Fath Khan, 279
favaos, 82
feasts, 91-92, 95, 97, 99, 102, 110-12, 136, 188, 223, 226-28, 268, 282, 308
Ferishta, 13, 24, 32
Fernao Nuniz *see* Nuniz, Fernao
ferry boats, 340
festivals, 102-03, 110, 226-29
Ficus Indica, 336
Figueiredo *see* Christovo de Figueiredo
firearms, 105, 107, 183
fire-missiles, 105, 107
Firoz Shah, Sultan, 279
Firozabad, 258
First India, 292-93
five Gates, 326
Franks, 185
Friday, 80, 176, 283

gabran, 256
Gajabentekara, 38
Gajapati, 34, 36, 45-6
Galician helmet, 75
Gamdarajo, Gamdarja, 112, 207 *see also* Govindaraja
Gandarguli Maranayaka, 31
Ganesa, Ganesh, 37, 344
Ganges, 248, 251, 298
Gapanayque, 237
Gargopam, 327
Garuda, 336
Gasopa, 224
Gates, 66, 86-87
Gaya, 40
gebeli, 249
Gentiles, 88*n*, 319, 321, 326
Gersoppa *see* Gasopa
Ghez, 254
Ghizar, 257
Giracal, 294
Goa, 4, 30, 67, 134, 138, 160, 174, 209, 248, 292-95, 297, 318-19, 326, 328

Gopanna, 31
Gopura, 53*n*, 127, 335-36, 338, 343-45
Governours, 127, 300, 302, 305 327
Govindaraja, 112, 205
Graos, 62, 171*n*
Guandaja *see* Govindaraja
Gubbi Mallanarya, 41
Guiana, 238
Gulbarga, 202, 256, 277-79, 284
Gun carriages, 182
Gurshasp, Baha-ud-din, 9
Guzarate, 121

half-pillars, 117
Hambah Nurir, 278-80
Hampe, Hampi, 5-10, 12, 16, 22, 25, 48, 52, 63*n*, 128, 330*n*; ruins, 331-47
Hampevodeyar *see* Ballala IV
Hanuman, 6, 241*n*, 336, 346
Hanur, 282-83
Haridasa, 48
Harihara, 5, 12, 24-25, 29-30, 33, 63*n*
Harihara I, 5, 15-16, 18, 21, 26, 29-32, 35, 63n
Harihara II, 21, 29, 32-34, 43, 133
Hasan, 258
Hayavadan Rao, 38
Heathen, 78, 108, 300-02, 314, 316; customs, 307-11 *see also* Brahman
Hedge of brushwood, 166, 170
Helly, 249
Hemakoota, Hemakuta, 7, 10-11, 34, 40
Heramba *see* Ganesa
Hindu, Hindus, 1, 13-14, 17, 54-55, 174, 184, 284, 330*n*, 347, 350-51
Hindustan, Hindostan, 256, 264, 268, 281, 351
Hirat, Heart, 251, 258, 266-67, 276
Honavar, Honawar, 293-94
hora, horaos, 302
Hormuz, 268, 277, 283
Hormuzians, 279-80
Hosapattana *see* Vijayavirupaksa Hosapattana
Hosepet, modern, 67
Houris, 255
House of Victory, 90, 92, 102
Hoysala dynasty, 13, 15-18, 25-28
Hudogary, 236
Hukka, 25
Hyder, 351

Ibn Battuta, 23-25
Idalao *see* Yadalcao
idol of white alabaster, 87
Imad-ool-Moolk, 284
Imam Jafar Sadik, 282
Immadi Devaraya *see* Mallikarjuna
Imam Fakhr-u-din-Razi, 258
India, 1, 5, 57, 61, 67, 111
Indian : corn 60, 81, 170; letters; nuts, 290
Iran, 255
Iris, 249
Iron, 104, 239, 295
Irugappa, 15, 34
Ismail Adil Shah, 46
Italy, 1, 40, 64, 76, 82

Jagadekamalla Jayasimhadeva, 8
Jagir, 348
Jakan, 258
Janavasya Mallikarjunavijaya, 42
Jaribs, 255
Jews, 215, 301
jewels, 72, 90, 92, 97-98, 101, 106, 157, 171, 216, 243-44, 262, 276, 304, 321, 328

Jizyat, 257
Jivanmuktiviveka, 20
Joao della Ponte, 211-12
jogis, 64, 79, 148

Kaba, 256
Kadam, 284
Kaditas, 27
Kalahastivara, 45
Kalahat
Kalikot *see* Calicut
Kalila and Dimma, 257
Kalinga, 298
Kallinatha, 28
Kallumathada Pabhudeva, 40
Kalyana Calukya, 8
Kamalpur, 332, 348-50
Kampa I, 18, 30
Kampa, Kampana, 15
Kampana I, 25
Kampana II, 25, 31
Kampilaraya, 9-10
Kampuli, 8
Kanara, 3, 133, 136, 292-96, 351
Kanarese, 241, 292, 293-95, 297-98, 340, 343; Old, 335-36
Kancipuram, 43
Kannada, 2, 4, 22-23, 25, 28
Kannanurkuppam, 15
Kara, 258
Karad, 258
Karnataka, 4-5, 11, 13, 18, 22-26, 28-29, 31, 35-36, 41, 43, 45; Empire, attack by Deccan, 53-54; Emperors of, 4-5;-epoch of Krsnaraya, 46; music, 48; modern, 55-56; Tamil culture through Telugu, 51-52
Kasbin Bazar, 336, 341
Kaveri, 29
Kavya Varadambikapariniya, 51
Kazis, 160
Khakan-I-Sa'id, Khakan-I-Said, 268, 276-77, 279
Khanaha, 265
Khata, Khatai, 256, 267
Khurasan, 279
Khurfakan, 283
Khwaja Jamalu-d-din, 279
Khwaja Mas'ud, 279, 281
Khwaja Muhammad, 279
Kigga, 21
Kikkayitai, 18, 26, 30
Kirtane, 48
Kiskindha, 6
Kishendeo *see* Krsnarao
Kistnah, 351
Klingas, 298
Kodandarama temple, 10
Konkani, 295
Kondapalli, 45, 153
Kondaividu, 45, 152, 157
Kopaki Dinars, 261
Krishna Naig, 13-14
Krsna, God, 47, 49
Krsna, river, 1, 8, 32, 35, 46, 49
Krsna temple, 10, 45, 119
Krsnadevaraya *see* Krsnarao
Krsnapura, 119
Krsnarao, Krsnaraya, Krishna Rayalu, 4n, 22, 39n, 44-45, 49, 51, 57, 73n, 86, 87n, 120n, 147-53, 155-57, 159, 205-06, 208-10, 214-16, 218, 236, 239-41, 297, 345, 351;
Krsnayajussakha, 17
Krti, 48
Kukkalanadu, 28
Kulbarga *see* Gulbarga
Kummata, 9
Kunthujinanatha, 34
Kuran, 282

Ladies' Bath, 333
Lakhs, 216, 223
Lakkana, 37-39, 41

Lakknnadamdesa, 41
Laksamana, 336
Laksmanamantri, 37
Lamka, 6
Lascaris, 236
Leagues, 62, 66, 68, 76, 103, 120, 127, 134, 151-52, 160, 165, 174, 176, 192, 209, 215, 229, 290, 300
Leather scourges, 89
Lepapayque, 237
Lime, 212, 313, 325
Lingam, 343
Lingalilavilasa, 40
Lingamurtisthala, 40
Lingayats, 311-17
Lisbon, 78, 106, 123
litters, 72, 219*n*, 240, 249, 305
Ludder Dew *see* Rudra Deva
Ludovico di Varthema, 285

Maabir, Raja of, 14 *see also* Malabar
Madanarque, 232
Madarmeluquo, Madremalluco, Madre-Maluco, 157, 161, 189-90
Madhava, Madhav, 1, 17-18, 20-22, 30, 32, 47-48, 51, 241*n* *see also* Vidyaranya
Madurai, 5, 9, 43, 52; liberation of, 31
mafumdo, 160
Mahamandalesvara, 26, 28, 43
Maharangamantapa, 45, 87n
Mahanawi FESTIVAL, 272, 276
Mahrattas, Marathas, 350, 338
Maiduna, 28
Malabar, 96, 256, 292, 295, 297-99, 351
Malan, 257
Maleya Dannayaka, 30
Malibar Coast, 254
Mallaca sea, 62
Mallikarjuna, 41-42
Mallinatha, 27-28
Mallpanaarque, 239
Malpangudi, 36
Malyavanta, 37
Mamgalor *see* Manglore
Maneria, 115
Mandapa, 1, 52; paintings, 112*n*
Mangahur *see* Mangalore
Mangalor, Mangalore, Mangalur *see* Manglore
Mangelins, mangellnis, 216, 239
Manglore, 30, 59, 238, 254, 281-82, 290, 293, 295, 298
Manikuttimavithi, 34
manimantapa, 45, 52
Manjeeshwaram, 298
Maravedis, 302
Marble, 325
Markand, 341
Mars, 254
Maskat, 283
Matanga hill, 6, 11, 37
Math, 337, 344
Matucotam, 192
Mayana, 17, 19
Mecca velvet, 103-04
Medegulla *see* Mudgal
Melich-Tuchar, 284
Melikh Khan Khoda, 284
Melinebiquy, Meliquyniby, 129-30
Middle India, 292, 298
Milan 288
Mirgeo, 293
Mirjan, 293, 298
Mirza Shah Rukh, 279
Miskal, 267
Modesty, 252
Modogul *see* Mudgal
Mohamed Toghuluk *see* Tughlak
Sultan Mohemad
Moghul, 351
Mollabamdym, 166

Moor, Moores, Moors, 82, 134, 160-62, 173-74, 178-79, 181, 181, 183-86, 193, 197, 290, 294, 301, 316, 318-19.
Moorish, 288-90, 294; merchants, 287-290; quarter, 80, 202
Muddappa, 25, 30, 33
Mudgal, Mudugal, 36, 46, 150, 196, 198, 200
Muddana, 34
Muhammad Sultan Shah, 258
Muharram, 266, 283
Mukhtar, 257
Muku Timmana, 47
Mulbagila, 31
Mumdoguel *see* Mudgal
Munivuruu, 21
musk, 303
musqueteers, 105, 182-84
Mylapore, 329
Mysore, 55
Mysoreans, 351

Nagaladevi, 45, 49
Nagalapura, Nagallapor, 49, 120, 211, 215
Nagapatao, 236
Nagari, 336, 343
Nagundy, Nagumdym, 83, 85, 87*n*, 119, 122-24, 126, 130, 132-33, 141-42 *see also* Anagundi
Nalapur, 331
Nanartharatnamala, 34
Nandi, 342
Naples, Kingdom of, 286, 288
Narada, 48
Narasanayaka *see* Narasimha
Narasimha, 4, 43-46, 50-51, 62-63, 139-45, 147-48, 150-51, 159, 168, 175, 206, 210, 285, 288, 290, 292-97, 300, 302, 306-07, 314, 318, 329; Kingdom of, 59, 65, 67
Narasingha Avatar, 337, 339-40, 342
Narsenaque, Narsenayaqye, Narsenayque *see* Narasimha.
Narsymga, Narsymgua *see* Narasimha
Narsynga, Narsyngua *see* Narsymga
Narvara, 237
Nayak rule, 5, 22*n*
Nayaka-s, 5
Neli, 249
New Gate, 335
New Year's Day, 110
Nicolo dei conti, 2, 40, 249-52
Nigondin, 322
Nikarili Cola Mandala, 31
Nikitin, 40, 284
Nine Gates, 325-26
nine days, 102-03, 250
Nizam, 341, 350
Nizam's dominions, 341
Nolambapallava Permanadi, 30
Nuggar, 14
Nuniz, Fernao, 5, 8-9, 21, 40, 42, 44, 49-50, 57
Nuptials, 125, 321

O portiro moor, 163, 235
Obamba, 50
October, 110
Odegary *see* Udayagiri
Odia, Odissa *see* Orissa
Odigir *see* Udayagiri
Ogemdraho, 163
Olakote *see* Calicut
Ondegema, 237
Onor, 290
Oria *see* Orissa
Orion, 254
Orissa, 67; King of, 71. 150-56, 314; Kingdom of, 62, 89-90, 133, 236

Ormus, Ormuz, Oromuz, 141, 182, 232, 294-95, 301, 307, 318
Orya *see* Orissa
Otisa *see* Orissa
Ouamysyuaya *see* Acyutaraya
Oudeypour *see* Udayagiri

Pacamuria, 249
Paces, 211
Pacharil, 234, 295
Padearao, 139
Pagan, 285, 288-91
Pagoda, 61, 63-65, 68, 73, 77-80, 84-85, 88, 94, 119, 138, 166, 241, 325, 328, 341, 346, 348-49
Palace, 70, 78-80, 85, 89, 91, 94, 100, 102-03, 107, 112, 114, 193, 210, 219, 222, 227-28, 230-32, 259-61, 270, 273, 300, 304-06, 315
Palanqueens, 219, 240, 305-06, 315, 326
Paleacate, 135
Palki, 340
Palmi, 287
Pampa, 6-7, 345
Pampamahatmya, 6-7
Pampapati, 345
Pampapura, 8
Pan, 268
Pandarani, 290
Pandharpur, 338
Pandya, 9, 43
Pandu Sangama, 25
Paradise, 248
Parasaramadhaviya, 20
Parasarasmrti, 19, 32
Paramahansa, 20
Pardai, 285, 288
pardao, 98, 108-11, 119, 133-35, 141, 148, 157, 160, 203, 208, 211, 213, 215-16, 225, 232, 234-40, 289, 302, 306 316.
Paredes, 93
Partab, 201
Parvati *See* Pampa
Patanjalayogasutra, 22*n*
Pateca, 75
Pecas, 75
Pedanayque, Peddanayaka, 220
Pegu, Peguu, 62, 135, 301
Penagumdim, Penagumdy, Penagundim
Penagundy, Penamgudy *see* Penegonde
Penegonde, 142-45, 206, 236, 324
Persia, 1, 40, 62, 104, 330
Persian, 257
Persian *character*, 350
Persian horses, 232
Picha, 221
Pianrao *see* Cikka Raya
Pillars 338-40, architecture, 117-18; musicality, 52
Polygamy, 71-72, 209-10
Pomda, Pomdaa, 160, 174, 208-09
Pomegranate, 83, 85, 197
Porches, 326
Porters, 325-26
Portugal, 1, 57, 59, 66, 82, 99; King of 76, 289
Portugall Merchants, 326
Portuguese, 3-4, 55, 61, 67, 75-76, 112, 114, 181-85, 206, 208, 211, 229, 232, 289
Pracos, 238
Pratapa Devaraya *see* Devaraya II
Pratap Rudra, 23
Praudha Devaraya *see* Devaraya II
Praudharaya II *see* Devaraya II
Prefect of City, 265-66
Professional women, 102
Pudifetania, 251
Pujari, 345
Puranasara, 32
Purandaradasa, 47-48

Pureoyre Deorao see Harihara II

Quattrini, 287
quick-lime, 268
Quilon, 135, 290
Quilted tunics, 95, 104, 164
Qutb Shah, 229, 319
Quyntal, 94

Rabaos, 66
Rachol *see* Raicur
Rai, 257, 259
Raicur, 38, 46, 67, 141, 150, 159, 161, 166, 168, 171, 173, 175-76, 179-80, 182, 189, 194, 208, 216, 240
Rakkasagi-Tangadagi *see* Talikota
Rama, Ramachandra, 6, 36, 50, 52, 336
Ramaragio, Ramraje, 320, 351
Ramarasa, 37
Ramaraya, 53-55
Ramayana, 6, 241*n*
Ramazan, 281-82
Ramesvaram, 50
Ramygupa *see* Rangaraya
ranas, 351
Rangamandapa, 46
Ranganatha, 42
Rangaraya, 44, 51, 147
Rangina, 258
ratha, 39, 338-40; rathavithi, 39
Ravana, 6
Rayagopura, 45, 86
Rayavaakamu, 44
Rayen, 33
Rayeel, 351
Recalem, 60
Regedor, 235
Reguacho, 304
reis, 110-11
revenues, 108-09, 137-38, 235, 238, 240, 262, 295
renters, 213, 223
rocis e semdeiros, 79
Romans, 76
Rome, 80
Rosyl, 237
Royall Throne, 37
Rrachol *see* Raicur
Rudra Deva, 13
Russia, 1, 40

sacrifice. 68, 78-79, 93-94, 102-03, 162, 227, 250
Sadasivaraya, 51, 55
Saffron, 301, 303, 328
Saffron-water, 251
Safhaha, 265
Sahar, 283
Saiva-s, Saivism, 48, 53
Saiyid-Alau-d din Mashhadi, 281
Saiyids, seids, 278
Salaam, 74-5, 94, 96-97, 102, 205, 222, 227
Salabatcao, Salabetcao, 181-82, 196, 198-202
Salaka Timmaraja, 50
Sale-Tirumalarayana pattana, 49
Sallvatinica *see* Saluva Timma
Saluva, 22, 42-44, 47, 241*n*
Saluva gunda, 43
Saluva Mamgu, 43
Saluva Narasimha I, 4, 41-43
Saluva Narasimha II, 44
Saluva Timma, 96, 99, 148, 150-51, 153-54, 157-59, 186, 204-07, 209, 214, 236
Saluvabhyudaya, 42
Saluvanayque, 235
Salavnay, Salvatimya, Salvatina *see* Saluva Timma
Salvatinea, Salvatiniya *see* Saluva Timma
Salvatinica, salvatinya *see* Saluva Timma

Samarkand, 276
Sambhuvaraya, 31
Samnyyasa, 20
Samory, 290
Samgama, Samgama, Sangama I, 15-16, 18, 22-23, 25, 27-33, 47
Sangama II, 32
Sanders-wood, 247, 301, 303, 310
Sangitaratnakara, 41
Sanguinetti, 24
Sankaracarya, 17
Santalige, 26, 30
Sarada, 17, 37
Saradapitha, 14-18, 20, 26-27, 33 see also Vidyaranya
Sarandip, 56
Sarasvati *see* Sarada
Sarngadeva 41
Sasadhara, 22*n*
Sati, 219, 242-45, 250, 308-10, 312, 319, 322-24
Satten, 328
Saturday, 176, 230
Sayana, Sayanacarya, Sayyana, 17-19, 21-22, 32, 37
Sayyanayaka, 27-28
Scarlets, 315, 328
Scouts, 165-66, 170
Senagumdym see Nagundym
September, 226, 232, 240
Serigapatao see Srirangapattnam
Serras, 211, 213
Sha'ban, 281
Shalivahan, 345
Sheikh Ismail, 122
Shesh Nag, 336
Shikr, 344
Shiraz, 276
Shiva, Siva, 6-7, 9, 41, 93
Shiva temple, 21, 35, 341-42
Siban, 257
Silan *see* Ceylon
Simoga, 26
Singale, 37
Sirangu, 41
Sita, 6, 336
Sivapurana, 6
Six old men, 125-26, 129-30
Skandapurana, 7*n*
Slavatinica *see* Saluva Timma
Soajes, 92
Sobagina sone, 25
Solestema *see* Saluva Timma
Somayya, 31
Srimati, 17, 19
Srinatha, 41
Srmgeri, Sringeri, 14-18, 20-21, 26-27, 32
Sripadaraya, 47-48, 241*n*
Sriranganatha, 31
Srirangapattana, 29, 71, 96, 175
Srivaisnava, Srivaisnavism *see* Vaisnava, Vaisnavism
Sallvatinica *see* Saluva Timma
Santarem, 59
St. Peter's at Rome, 64
Sthalamahatmy, 7*n*
Stone trough, 332
Subhasitasudhanidhi, 32
sugar, 295
Sugriva, 6, 337, 340
Sukanasi, 46
Sunyasampadane, 40
Supari, 268
Suresvara, 17
Susimanni, 250
Svamikarya, 37
Svarmelakalnidhi, 50
Symamdary, 153
Syrimgapatao *see* Srirangapattana

Taittiriyopnisad, 19
T'alim Khanah, 345
Talingo, 298
Tamarao, 142
Tambarane, 312

Tamgor, 236
Tamilnadu, 4-5, 35
Tanacary, 135
Tancai, 29
Tanjore, 5
tar, tare, 261-62, 289
Tara, 337, 340
Tarambika, 33
Telugas, 245
Telugu, 2, 4, 22-23, 25
Telumugalle, 242
Temeragio, Temiragio, 320, 325
Temersea, 74
Tenkas, 284
Tennali Ramakrishna, 47
terra moor cerca, 78
terrace, 90
terrea, 90
terreyro, 44
Tetarao, 147
Throne, The, 237, 333-34
Ticalo, 237
Timadanayque, Timadanarque, Timapanayque, Timmappanayake *see* Tymrasa
Timma, 49
Timmalapura, 49-50
Timoja, 293-94
Tipar, 237
Tippoo, 350-51
Tirumala, Tirumalaraya, 50, 53, 55, 204*n*
Tirumaladevi, Tirumalamba, 49-50, 71n, 204*n*
Tirupati, 48
Tirupuggal, 41
Tiruvengadanatha, Tiruvengalanatha, 50, 55
Toombuddra *see* Tungabhadra
Tomapatani, 289
Trabucos, 69
treason, 136-37, 142, 144, 201
Treasury, 110-11, 114, 232
Tricebemca, 241
Trimbicara, 163
Trinity, 241, 248
Triumphant cars, 79, 88, 99
Truguel, 236
Tughalak, Sultan Mohamed, 9, 14
Tukuz, 276
Tulingana, 14
Tuluva, 22, 34, 44-56
Tuluva Narasimha *see* Narasanayaka
Tungabhadra, Tumgabhadra, 6-8, 46, 63*n*, 83*n*, 332, 336-37, 340, 342, 347-49
Turkie, 328
Turkish bows, 105
Turkomans, 122
Tymrsaa, 142-43

Udayaditya see Nolambapallava Permanadi
Udayagiri, 35-36, 43, 45, 151, 351
Udipi, 12, 293, 295
Ulu Bairam, 284
Uman, 280
Underground passage, 334
Utsavamurti, 45

vacana, vacanas, 40-41
Vaisnava, vaisnavism, 47, 53
vali, 6, 241*n*, 337-38, 340
Vardajammanapattana, 50, 120*n*
varaha, 261, 278
Vatulasudhagama, 41
Vdipiram, 293, 295
Vedas, 18-19, 1,
Vedic studies, 17; revival of, 32
Vellore, 5
Velvet, 103-05, 328
Venice, 288, 318
Venkataraya, 51
Veramdas, 97
Veride, 190

Verupacarao, 138
Venkata, 53
Vidyanagara, 6, 34
Vidyaranya, 2, 6, 16, 19-21, 30, 53, 133
Vidyatiratha, Vidyatrthamuni, 14, 17, 19, 21
Vidyatirthasripada, 20
Vijaya Bukkaraya *see* Bukkaraya I
Vijaya Virupaksa Ballala *see* Ballala IV
Vijaya Virupaksa Hosapattana, 10-12
Vijayadasami, 29
Vijayanagar, Vijayanagara Empire, 1-6, 10-12, 14, 21, 249-50, 285, 297-98, 318-21, 324-28, 350-51; festivals, 250; remains of, 348-49; town planning, 38-39; weddings, 251
Vijayanagarada pattana *see* Vijayanagar
Vijayarao, Vijayaraya, 37, 134-35, 270*n*
Vimana, 339, 345
Vimgapor, 237
Vintem, 82
Vira Narasimha *see* Bhujabal Narasimha
Viresa, 36
Virido, 189
Viridy, 319
Virupanna, 21
virupanna II, 35
Virupaksa, 6-8, 10, 12, 30, 34, 39-40, 42, 45, 49
Virupaksa temple, 8, 11, 39-40
Virupaksapandita, 35
Virupaksatirtha, 7
Virupaksavasantoasavacampu, 53
Visarao *see* Vijayarao
Vishnu, 34-35, 337, 340
Vitella, 84
Vitoba, 338
Vithala, 47-48, 52, 338
Vithala temple, 34-35
Vithalpura, 10, 49
Vithappa, 34
Vyasaraya, 47, 51, 73, 241*n*
Vydiajuna *see* Vidyarnya

wage wars, 161, 315
Warangal, 13-14, 23
war of Carnatic *see* Carnatic wars
Wazir, 78
white Bumbast cloth, 328
Witthoba *see* Vithal
world, 65
Wurungole *see* Warangal

Yalis, 239
Yavana, 46
Yavanarayasthapanacarya, 46, 203*n*
Yadalcao, Yadallcao, 67, 89, 120, 159-62, 168-69, 173-74, 178-81, 186, 189-203, 208-09, 215-16, 229, 237
Yogavaradanarasimhamurti, 47
Yoni, 343

Zaghan, 258
zaitun satin, 267, 276
Zambuja, 59
Zananah, 345-46
Zemelluco, 162, 189-90, 319
Zibanda, 258
Zi-hijja, 256, 266, 282
Zil ka' da, 282

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